CONNECTICUT AS A STATE

Wm. O. Buckingham

CONNECTICUT

AS A COLONY AND AS A STATE, OR ONE OF THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN

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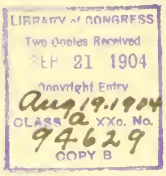

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DEDICATED TO
WILLIAM ALFRED BUCKINGHAM
LINCOLN'S FRIEND AND COUNSELLOR

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CHAPTER I

The Crisis

THE sturdy qualities of the little State have never contributed more signally to the credit of her citizens and the support of the government than during the stress of the Civil War. No thoughtful observer of events in Connecticut during the immediately preceding years could fail to feel that a storm was gathering. Many hoped that it would pass by; a few realized its dreadful portents. Whether the last analysis of the causes brings us to the undying antagonism between centralization of government and State sovereignty, between the slaveholder and the abolitionist, or between the Roundhead, and the Cavalier, the fact remains that there was serious friction between the North and the South.

In Connecticut, as in other Northern States, the people were slow to believe that the threats of secession would be carried out; they credited others with their own real loyalty to the Union, and to preserve that Union they were ready to make any reasonable concession. But if it takes two to make a quarrel, it certainly takes more than one to keep peace; and as the depressing years of Buchanan's administration wore on, and the pivotal autumn of 1860, with its momentous election approached, the wise ones looked into the future with foreboding eyes.

In the State, the approval of secession had been really denied finally by the hotly contested spring election of 1860, which called out a poll of 88,576 votes. This was a large increase over the succeeding presidential election. Both parties put their strength into the contest, and a majority of 541 gave Connecticut the honor and inestimable blessing of keeping her "war-governor," William A. Buckingham, at the helm. Well may New London County be proud of Trumbull

and Buckingham, who supported our two greatest Presidents in our two greatest wars.

It is difficult to say what would have been the war-story of the State had she chosen otherwise on that April day in 1860.

In the autumn of that year, a token that this decision was accepted was given by the majority for Lincoln of 10,292. The die was cast for the nation, too. Lincoln was legally elected, and an angry South prepared to show its resentment.

There was ample opportunity for carefully considering the claims of both sides in Connecticut, long a State where parties were nearly matched; for the South had then a strong party of "sympathizers", who brought forward every plea for yielding to her demands, and suggested every conceivable measure of conciliation. The great number of intelligent citizens who were accustomed to weigh carefully every judgment, and to listen with fairness to an opponent's arguments, increased the probability that public action would proceed from conviction rather than from impulse.

Both men and newspapers of ability uttered their disapproval of the election of Lincoln, and in varying degrees befriended the South. Of the newspapers, the *Hartford Times* and *New Haven Register* amended their course in the light of succeeding events, and the *Bridgeport Farmer* was silenced by the force of public opinion. Still, few were ready to defend secession; but many felt that it would be such a calamity that we ought to use all possible moderation and forbearance in order to avert it. Even the *Hartford Times,* which had bitterly opposed the election of Lincoln, said "It is right that he should be inaugurated, and that he should be sustained in the legitimate discharge of the executive duties of his government."

All looked with anxiety to the XXXVIth Congress, to

which Connecticut sent an able and representative delegation; in the Senate, Lafayette S. Foster and James B. Dixon; in the House, Dwight Loomis, John Woodruff, Alfred A. Burnham, and Orrin S. Ferry. They bore, on the whole, an honorable part in that memorable session, when the hot, persistent debates filled the halls of Congress day after day with excited listeners. Mr. Ferry was the Connecticut member on the important committee of Thirty-three, one from each State, to confer on "the state of the Union." Senator Dixon represented the conciliatory spirit of many when he said, "My constituents are ready to make any sacrifice which a reasonable man can ask or an honorable man can grant."

Senator Brown of Mississippi hardly met him half-way when he rejoined, "There is but one way: the Northern people must reverse their whole policy on the subject of slavery." Perhaps those brief sentences are accurate types of the temper of the North and the South during that winter. On January 9, the signal for war was really given by the shot fired on the Star of the West, pursuing its legitimate errand of carrying food to Major Anderson; but still the effort to pacify went on. Some towns actually sent petitions to Congress praying that the peace proposals of the Border States be accepted.

To the Peace Conference, Connecticut sent some of her most learned and dispassionate sons. Ex-Gov. Roger Sherman Baldwin, who had won the fight for justice to the Amistad captives; Hon. Robbins Battell, a benefactor of his State and town; Hon. Charles J. McCurdy, our former chargé d' affaires to Austria; and others of similar character. Ex-Gov. Baldwin urged a National Convention which should so amend the Constitution as to satisfy the opposing claims; but that plan was rejected. In short, every possible solution

of the problem was suggested in vain; we see now that the conflict was inevitable.

The Connecticut Congressmen began to declare positively that the government must be maintained. Mr. Ferry offered, on Feb. 11, a resolution to so amend the Constitution as to forbid the withdrawal of any State from the Union, except under certain conditions; but it was never voted on. In an able speech, he predicted that concessions of even all that was demanded, or could be demanded, would buy only a transient and therefore to be dreaded peace. When Mr. Wigfall of Texas declared in open session that he was a foreigner, and belonged to the foreign State of Texas, it was Senator Foster who moved that he be expelled for treasonable language, a motion which was pased.

The direction of the tide of opinion was indicated by the vote of the Connecticut delegation on the proposal to so amend the Constitution as to prevent Congress from ever interfering with slavery. Mr. Dixon voted for it. Mr. Foster did not vote; the House delegation voted against it. The Fourth of March approached; apprehensions of evil filled the air; but still the North hoped that Southern ire would vent itself in words.

Connecticut was ill-pleased that her contribution to Buchanan's cabinet, Isaac Toucey, a Hartford man, was suspected of using his authority as Secretary of the Navy to disperse our warships to distant seas, and was known to have allowed officers, shipyards, and stores, to slip away from government control without reproof or opposition on his part. He received, on March 2, the censure of Congress for his mal-administration, Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts being chairman of the committee of investigation. The minority report, given by Mr. Branch of North Carolina, was rather

Gideon Welles

damaging in its ironical defense of the Secretary. To the charge of allowing disloyal officers to depart unscathed, Mr. Toucey has since replied that by so doing he had cleared the Navy of the "seeds of disaffection, so that the secession of eleven States from the Union lost not a single vessel to the service"; and he said that he had been constantly refused the naval appropriations for which he had as constantly asked in order to rehabilitate the navy. It may be that as the end of his term approached, his fear of the disapproval of his Connecticut neighbors waxed greater than that of seceding senators; for a comparison of dates shows that while in January there were very few vessels in home waters, most of them had been quietly recalled before Mr. Lincoln's inauguration.

It was a little remarkable that one Hartford man, retiring from Buchanan's cabinet, was followed as Secretary of the Navy by another, Gideon Welles, who was so trusted a supporter of Mr. Lincoln and the Union all through the war as to almost efface the unpleasant memory of Toucey's career. Gideon Welles, a member of an old Connecticut family, had been prominent in State affairs for more than a generation. Some years before the war, William H. Burleigh had started the *Hartford Republican*. It was sold first to J. D. Baldwin, then to M. H. Bartlett & Co., D. W. Bartlett and Joseph H. Hawley being its editors. Of the *Press*, its successor, Gideon Welles was one of the founders. He had much ability as a writer on political themes, contributing for many years editorial articles to the *Times*. In the winter of 1860-61 he had written a remarkable series of articles on the crisis of affairs for the *National Era* of Washington. He had been one of the one hundred men who met at the invitation of Joseph R. Hawley to form the Republican party, and by his

pen had been one of the most influential in bringing it into power.

Mr. Lincoln's choice of him was in accord with his political sagacity, and was approved by experience. Lacking the pronounced qualities of Stanton, Welles yet had underneath his modest bearing, sound ideas and excellent judgment; so that intimate friends knew that the President often sought and followed his advice on questions of great moment. Welles kept his portfolio through two administrations.

In the spring of 1861, Governor Buckingham was re-elected by a good majority of more than 2,000; a guarantee of support to President Lincoln. But events in the harbor of Charleston made the North forget everything else. For six months, aggressions had been made almost unheeded and quite unpunished. Nineteen forts, mints, arsenals, and navy-yards, 1,200 cannon, and 150,000 muskets, had passed from national control to that of seceding States; officers of the army and navy and of the government, in high and low degree, had transferred their allegiance to a hostile authority; the halls of Congress had resounded with loud-voiced contempt of the Union; and still we did not stir; but on April 12 the telegraph clicked, a little message told that that fluttering bit of bunting on lonely Sumter was fired on by traitor guns; and lo! there was the lightning flash of a nation's wrath, and the North sprang up to avenge the insult. The transformation was as sudden as the bursting forth of electric lights on a darkened town; and the world could hardly believe that it was true.

The news that Sumter had fallen reached Connecticut on Sunday morning, April 13. Many heard it as they went to church. A solemn indignation seized the congregations that listened to the impassioned prayers and sermons called forth

by the crisis. That Battle Sunday was indeed like the hush before the roar of the cannonade. Patience had ceased to be a virtue; what to do was now the question; how quickest and best to wipe off the stain from the flag.

Every hour was precious. On that Sunday evening was held a great and memorable war-meeting in New Britain; Major Anderson's portrait, enwreathed, was presented by Valentine B. Chamberlain, the whole audience rising in overwhelming excitement at his thrilling words; a volunteer company was started, and Frank Stanley, afterwards shot dead at Irish Bend, was the first to offer himself. With simultaneous impulse, such meetings were held all over the State; in West Winsted, in spite of one opposing speech, one hundred men offered to go to the war which was now begun, and $700 was subscribed for their outfit.

On Monday morning came the President's proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand troops for three months. The day for peace had passed; and on every side was the bustle of preparation for war. The newspapers of the State voiced the determination of the people to lay aside party differences and defend the dear old flag. To be sure, the newspapers aforementioned continued to utter disapproval of "coercion," but they could not cool the white heat of popular feeling.

On that morning, three men met in the office of the *Hartford Press:* Joseph R. Hawley, its editor, Albert W. Drake, and Joseph Perkins. Drake had already prepared a form for volunteering, which they signed; and by night, when the great mass-meeting was under way, the company thus begun was full. Drake became second lieutenant; Hawley, first lieutenant, soon to be captain of Company A, then lieutenant-colonel of the Seventh, and afterwards brigadier-general. He

had that day engaged rifles for his company on his own responsibility. In that company, as in many others, enthusiasm had to compensate for experience; since it contained only one who had seen service on any field, and only two who had even been in a militia company. Beauregard, Bragg, and Lee, who had been trained at the nation's expense, had gone with the South; but people consoled themselves by saying, "We still have Gen. Scott and Gen. Wool," not realizing that they were entering on a contest which would bring forth generals of overshadowing fame.

Connecticut's quota was one regiment of militia, and it was found that the laws of the State did not empower the Governor to order a militia regiment into the field. Thus Massachusetts was able to send her militia in a body to Washington in advance of Connecticut. At Hartford and New Haven, crowds waited far into the night to cheer the Massachusetts men as their train passed. Governor Buckingham was not deterred by obstacles, and on his own responsibility called for the regiment to be made up of volunteers. Like air into a vacuum, men rushed to enlist. They fairly tumbled over each other in their eagerness to be enrolled in that one regiment which they thought would have the only chance to take part in re-establishing our dishonored government.

Three regiments were quickly formed; but it was only by the personal entreaty of Governor Buckingham, who went to Washington to see Mr. Lincoln for that purpose, that the State was allowed to send the Second and Third Regiments. No such entreaties would have been needed two years later! The preparation of regiments for the seat of war became the absorbing thought and occupation in the State. Within four days of the President's call, the First Regiment was in camp

at New Haven; within six days, the Second followed; in two weeks, the Third went into camp at Hartford; and within three weeks, fifty-four companies, five times our quota, had offered their services.

There was friendly rivalry for being first at the front. New Britain and Danbury divided the honor of being the first to offer a company to the State; that from West Meriden, being on the basis of a military company, was the first to be accepted by the Governor; Captain Burnham's Hartford company was the first that was wholly composed of volunteers; and probably Winsted can boast of the first man who enlisted, Samuel Horne, who had martial tendencies, his two uncles having been officers under Wellington, one of them having been on his staff. Horne was only seventeen, and small; but he would not be refused, and served honorably in twenty-five battles, gaining several promotions and being wounded three times.

The dates of individual offers to serve and those of recorded enlistments sometimes differ a good deal, for obvious reasons. In Norwich, the Governor's home, James B. Coit, himself the first volunteer in Norwich, on the receipt of the telegram announcing the assault on Sumter, gathered a company, the "Buckingham Rifles", designed to be a part of the First Regiment; but it finally went into the Second Regiment. The Wooster Guards of Danbury offered themselves to the Governor two days in advance of his call, and were the first company to arrive at New Haven.

On the news of the fall of Sumter, Robert H. McCurdy, an honored citizen of New York, but a native of Lyme, and a brother of the equally patriotic Judge McCurdy of Lyme, went about in the rain to call his friends and neighbors to a meeting at his house that night. That led to the famous war-

meeting on Union Square, on the afternoon of Saturday, April 20. The call stated that the battle-flags of Moultrie and Sumter would be displayed. Union Square was the centre, but the eager throng that made it the mightiest mass-meeting this country has ever seen "stretched almost from river to river, and from one end of the town to the other." During the whole war, both Robert and Charles McCurdy were untiring in upholding the government.

Mass-meetings were held all over the State. In Brooklyn, Windham County, sixty men were raised in thirty minutes; and in many other towns, from fifty to sixty were enrolled in thirty or forty minutes. In Norwich, the five sons of Jared Dennis enlisted; and a family feeling can be traced in many other groups of names. While the mass-meeting in Middletown was going on, Captain Dickerson of the Mansfield Guard summoned his men to the armory. Words were few and action was rapid; before morning the company, with full ranks, was ready for war. Similar instances of the wonderful rising of the people might be related indefinitely.

Indeed there was need of haste. The South was bestirring herself with equal alacrity, the Potomac flowed between banks hostile to the Union Government, and the flag of the Confederacy was flying in sight of Washington. That capital, itself a harbor for spies and disunionists, was menaced with investment or capture at any moment. Communication by railroad or telegraph with the North was cut off; the fate of the Massachusetts Sixth in Baltimore was a verification of fear long felt, and in the midst of dismayed friends and exultant foes, the sad- eyed President wondered when help would come from the North.

William A. Aiken, Quartermaster-General of Connecticut, was asked by Governor Buckingham to make the

attempt to carry to Mr. Lincoln the assurance that help was on the way, and to test the possibility of making communication. Starting early on April 22, he and a companion succeeded in reaching Washington, but by circuitous routes, with delay and danger; while open threats where they were recognized as Northerners showed that it was best to be as inconspicuous as possible. In Baltimore, it was only by the favor of the hotel proprietor that passes from General Winder, a Rebel, were secured that enabled them to leave the city limits.

In General Aiken's words: "At ten o'clock next morning I called upon the President, and saw him for the first time in my life—an interview I can never forget. No office-seekers were besieging the presence that day. I met no delay. Mr. Lincoln was alone, seated in his business room, upstairs, looking towards Arlington Heights through a wide-open window. Against the casement stood a very long spyglass or telescope, which he had obviously just been using. I gave him all the information I could. He seemed depressed beyond measure as he asked slowly and with measured emphasis, 'What is the North about? Do they know our condition?' 'No:' I answered: 'they certainly did not when I left'. He spoke of the non-arrival of troops under General Butler, and of having had no intelligence from them for two or three days. Having delivered my despatch and the Governor's words of encouragement, and having enjoyed an interview protracted, by desire of the President, beyond ordinary length, I took my leave.

"The sense of the insecurity of the capital, and of that good man's life, has never again come over my spirit with such weight as then. From the President's words and looks, I saw what a moment of golden opportunity that was to the

conspirators. Only a handful of regulars, a regiment of volunteers, and Cassius M. Clay's band of brave men,—these were all the loyal forces at hand. Foes were without, and their descent from Arlington over Long Bridge was the probability of any moment. Foes were within, equally bitter, jostling the friends of the government on every pavement and in every office. Mutual confidence seemed dead, and suspicion had usurped its place. . . . I believe there has been no hour since, when messages of sympathy, encouragement, and aid from the loyal government of a loyal State were more truly needed, or more effective in the mind of the late President, than these I had the honor to deliver."

In order to leave Washington, it was necessary for General Aiken to borrow gold, for even New York bank bills had no value there; and it was not safe to pursue the route used in going, as they were undoubtedly marked by the rebels for detention. A few individuals were successful in getting through from the capital to New York; among them D. W. Bartlett, a Connecticut man, who was at that time one of the editors of the *National Era,* which had been issuing rousing articles,—those of Mr. Welles, now Secretary of the Navy, being among them. Every word of information that such a man could give about the state of Washington and the perils of the journey was eagerly sought by the newspapers of New York, and by General Wool, then in command there.

Mr. Bartlett reported the Capitol as surrounded by improvised defenses, and provisioned with several thousand barrels of flour. That commodity was selling for sixteen dollars a barrel, and no provisions were coming in from the surrounding country. It was only by personal favor of a Congressman that he could secure gold for the trip, and the "shinplasters", the only local currency in Washington, were value-

less outside of it. He said that the railroad tracks had been torn up for miles, and it had been necessary to travel by unfrequented routes, driving by night across the country, with four horses, to reach a point where a train could be taken with safety. Armed bands of Maryland secessionists patrolled the roads, and the hotels in Baltimore, with loud threats to kill all passengers from the North. The Pennsylvania regiment had hurried to Washington, unarmed; many of the city volunteer militia were mere striplings or were justly suspected of disloyalty, and there were only seven or eight hundred regular soldiers there at that time. Guns at Arlington could have shelled a large part of the city, and Ben McCullough was encamped at Alexandria, nine miles away.

With some reason, Jefferson Davis had retained his pew in his Washington church, and his wife had sent word to her friends that she "expected very soon to be in the White House, where she would be glad to see them all at her first reception". The bridge between Havre de Grace and Baltimore was burned, and the New York papers announced that "all communication between Baltimore and Philadelphia by rail, and with Boston by water, ceased on April 19." On the 24th, the New York Seventh and Massachusetts Eighth brought relief; on the 25th the glad words were printed, "Washington is safe!" and on the 26th the railroad advertised to run a few trains: but it was weeks before ordinary travel was resumed.

Nor did the enthusiasm of the State spend itself in words only; money was needed too, for words could accomplish little without ammunition, uniforms, and supplies. Where were these to come from in such haste? The Governor had wisely provided knapsacks, cartridge boxes, bayonets and other equipments for five thousand men, during

the winter; but it had not been deemed prudent to arouse feeling by ordering new muskets, so only ten hundred and twenty were of the latest pattern. In the wakeful hours of that Sunday night, April 14, he decided what to do. The smooth-bores must be given up. In the morning he would go to the Thames bank, and ask to borrow $50,000 on the security of his private property. With that sum he could arm his volunteers with the best and newest rifles.

But other brains had been active during that night, and before Governor Buckingham could reach the bank, he received a despatch from E. C. Scranton and Thomas B. Osborne, president and vice-president of the Elm City Bank of New Haven, offering a loan from the bank of $50,000. The Thames Bank immediately offered $100,000; and almost simultaneously came offers of $50,000 each from the Pahquioque Bank of Danbury, the Danbury Bank, the Mechanics Bank of New Haven; of twenty-five thousand from the Fairfield County Bank of Norwalk, and of five hundred thousand from the united banks of Hartford, one-tenth of their capital. This was a significant item to be telegraphed all over the country, and it spoke volumes of the practical patriotism of those who could not go to the fight.

All over the state burned the spirit of laying gifts on the altar of our country. During the eight years of Governor Buckingham's absolutely devoted services as Governor, he did not draw one dollar of his salary, and many emulated his generosity. David Clark, of Hartford, pledged himself in the first war-meeting to give $250 to every company which the city should send, and began by giving his check to Hawley's company on the spot. In various ways, during the war, he gave $60,000 to war expenses. In New Haven, Thomas R. Trowbridge, at the outset, offered $500 for the families

of volunteers; and he too continued his support throughout the war. Practically, the financial resources of the state were at the Governor's disposal.

During that first week of enthusiasm the disunion sympathizers had little chance to be heard. The combative spirit was roused in many men who had been apathetic or hostile until the shots reached Sumter. The flag suddenly assumed a new significance, and became synonymous with the Union and all the blessings and obligations that were dependent on it. For a long time the Stars and Stripes had been out of sight and out of mind as much as possible; now, every flag was brought forth and unfurled in the sunlight, and a brisk business was established in making flags and cockades of all sizes and descriptions. Flag-raisings were favorite public functions for years, and every building, private or public, whose owner was patriotic and could find a place for a flag, had it waving in the breeze. Cockades of the national colors were universally worn, and the State was fluttering with red, white and blue, from end to end. No public entertainment was complete unless some graceful soprano or thundering bass gave the finishing touch by singing the "Star Spangled Banner," and the "Red, White and Blue"; and bands fanned the ardor of all by playing the national airs on every possible occasion.

Sunday, April 21, was a memorable day. War sermons were generally preached, and in most churches ordinary conditions were reversed, and the masculine element predominated in the audiences; for the women could not stop for even an abbreviated service, being assembled in companies where the clicking of sewing machines took the place of praise and prayer, for the need of uniforms was so pressing that not a moment could be spared. In all the large towns

this work was going on night and day. Every nerve was strained, every one gave what he could. Tailors cut the garments, sewing-machines were lent and transported, outfitters gave underclothing, caterers served lunches, all without charge, while bands played encourageingly in the streets.

With all these aids, the work was accomplished in an astonishingly short time. The ladies of New Haven finished and distributed more than five hundred full uniforms in ten days; and equal diligence was used in other places. One company went to New Haven without uniforms, and as a speedy way of securing a martial appearance, the warriors sought their early beds at the Russell Military School, while the kind ladies made their fingers fly in sewing on stripes down the trousers!

The pupils of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Hartford gave the use of their tailor and shoe shops; the Winchester and Davies Company in New Haven lent their sewing machines to make ticks for the camp beds, and there was a gay evening at the old State House when the ladies came to help the soldiers fill them with straw. Little did any of them realize how luxurious a straw bed would seem to some of those men, when sick and suffering on the cold earth of prison pens!

Some towns early offered that provision for the families of volunteers which was taken up afterwards by the State. Doctors often promised to give their services to the families of volunteers. The Congregational ministers near Winsted arranged to fill Chaplain Eddy's pulpit in turn during his absence, so that his family could have his salary. Workmen, during that summer, often did the work of their absent comrades, and employers continued the pay of employees who had volunteered.

Each village and town that contributed its sons for the First Regiment, bade them farewell with all the pomp and circumstance in its power. Breathless crowds gathered at every point on the route; even roofs bore their load of those anxious to see the heroes. With flags flying, drums beating, cheers resounding, the volunteers marched off with step light and free, proud in the anticipation of glory soon to be won. A few months later, crowds assembled again, eager to welcome home the returning ones. Surely they would come with the firm tread of practiced warriors, in all the panoply of war. Never was contrast more bitter;—they came,—but could that little band of pale, travel-worn, haggard men, who dragged their halting steps along in a listless manner, be those who went out with spirits so high and health so abundant?

Very few were so wise at the outset as to anticipate more than a few months of war. The nation learned that wisdom by sad experience, and was afterwards prepared for the sight of the shattered remnants of regiments that had gone out with full ranks. In fact, it was said in Washington that in the late years of the war, so accustomed were the inhabitants to seeing a few scores or hundreds of survivors of regiments dragging themselves along the avenue, that when a new full regiment marched through, it was almost always spoken of as at least a brigade.

Let it always be remembered of the three-months men, that they not only in almost every case volunteered spontaneously, but without bounty or hope of pension, and that they did the cruel pioneer work of showing by their hardships what must be avoided for succeeding regiments.

But to return to the new recruits. The First Connecticut Volunteers, under Colonel Daniel Tyler, at first assembled in New Haven, April 20, spending the first few nights in col-

lege walls, then vacant on account of vacation, and afterwards going into camp in an open field. The Second, under Colonel Alfred H. Terry, went into camp at Brewster's park. In the scarcity of experienced sons of Mars, and the urgency of the time, the boys from General Russell's Military School in New Haven were detailed as drill-masters; and there was always a crowd of spectators watching these boys of from twelve to eighteen years, putting their adult pupils through the unaccustomed evolutions. Age, previous occupation, wealth or poverty, mattered not—they all met on the common level of patriotism and determination to become good soldiers. The Third Regiment went into camp on Albany Avenue in Hartford, May 9, and on the 22d followed the First and Second to Washington.

While still surrounded by the plenty of home, it was not easy for men who had never known a real hardship to satisfy themselves with pork and beans, with hard beds and stern routine; but they did not flinch. Sometimes in the efforts of the new officers to secure strict discipline, the display of authority was rather superfluous; as once, when some men were ailing slightly, the whole regiment was called out in companies, and the surgeon, a bottle of some nauseous mixture in one hand and a big spoon in the other, passed along the line pouring a liberal spoonful into the mouth of each man, sick or well!

But the inhabitants of the cities, and indeed of the whole State, atoned for all mishaps and deficiencies by their lavish generosity. Nothing was too good for the "boys in blue". Did one of them appear on the street, he was besought to accept what he liked, from pie to pistols; and friends and general visitors poured into the camps, and strove to hide their aching hearts behind good cheer of all kinds. Old

ladies knitted stockings, little girls made pincushions and rosettes, and everything to eat or wear was brought for the soldier's comfort.

Could a man have taken to the field all that was pressed on him by his friends, he would have been exhausted before he could take aim once. The undoubted inventive genius of the State displayed itself at once with astonishing results in the way of portable writing desks, cooking utensils, toilet-cases, rubber blankets, water-filters, and the like, all of which were urged on the volunteers. A selection of these, with Bible, photograph album, extra shoes, stockings and clothing, embroidered slippers, and dressing gowns, with an assortment of good literature, and the inevitable accoutrements, made the packs loaded on the untoughened backs weigh from 125 to 150 pounds!

They were besought to employ all kinds of hygienic practices from changing their stockings when they stopped marching to "having their food always well-cooked"! The day came when some of them were thankful for the soft side of a mud-puddle and the warm blanket of a snow drift on which to lay their weary bodies; and to eat their bit of salt pork raw or hastily broiled on a ramrod.

On May 10, amid the cheers of friendly throngs, the First marched to the wharf, to take the "Bienville", which bore them to Washington by the hitherto closed Potomac, Captain Ward's Potomac flotilla not being active till the 16th. The President and his cabinet met them on the river, and must have been rejoiced to see such a reinforcement of the slender garrison. It was the first regiment to enter the capital in complete preparation for war, with tents, baggage-train, 50,000 rounds of ammunition, and rations and forage for twenty days. "Colonel Tyler was prepared not only for a bat-

tle but for a campaign." It had more transportation than all the troops in Washington combined; and on the day after its arrival, its teams were borrowed by the Government. No wonder that General Scott exclaimed, "Thank God, we have one regiment ready to take the field".

The Second Regiment, under Colonel Alfred H. Terry, followed the next day by the same route. It was fortunate in having officers well trained in the State militia; and the New Haven Grays, the Mansfield Guards of Middletown, and the National Guard of Birmingham, which were included in it, had long been favorite militia companies. The Third went two weeks later, and all three were brigaded under Brigadier-General Tyler, who had received his promotion from the colonelcy of the First on the day of sailing from New Haven. Much of the efficiency of the Connecticut troops throughout the war was due to the thorough drill and the high ideal of the true soldier, inculcated by that able, indefatigable, and conscientious officer. He set a standard of strict discipline and devotion to duty, which made Connecticut troops favorites with commanders from Bull Run to Appomattox.

The Legislature which convened at Hartford on the 1st of May was confronted by new and portentous business. All inexperienced in the needs of armies and navies, these men had to arrange a sure supply for the streams which were to flow from the State toward the national support. For a short time party lines were almost erased; indeed, in town elections in New Haven and Norwich, a union ticket had been made and carried, and the noble message of the Governor met a hearty response. His recommendation to immediately organize eight or ten thousand volunteers to be ready for service was speedily accepted, and all his acts in raising the three-months troops were ratified and confirmed. Appropriations

were made for the extra pay of the soldiers already departed, and the treasurer was empowered to issue six per cent. coupon bonds to the value of $2,000,000 for military expenses.

The bounty before mentioned was six dollars a month for the wife, and two dollars for each child, not exceeding two, under fourteen. It was paid quarterly, even after the death of the soldier till after the term of enlistment expired. So well was the work of this Legislature done that it was not repealed, but was only extended during the war.

CHAPTER II

The Call to Arms

RELIEVED in a measure from the excitement of sending off five thousand volunteers in five weeks, Connecticut turned her gaze on the scene of conflict. She beheld a confederacy compact, united, and confident, and presenting, on frontier and coast, a discouraging extent of boundary to be guarded. On either side of the dividing line, the points for most effectual attack were to be found only by solving the bloody problems of the future.

The situation demanded both dash and delay, promptness and prudence. The nation clamored for an advance—the President was accused of hesitation. The history of the first two years of the war is a record of disasters and successes which followed the various attempts to read the riddle of uniting caution and courage, discretion and daring. The advocates of the "on to Richmond" policy disapproved of the "anaconda" plan of action; and at no time did the general public, with all its generosity and enthusiasm, appreciate the necessity of circumspection in military matters.

Colonel Ellsworth, the first martyr of the war, who lost his life while hauling down a rebel flag in Alexandria, was a grandson of Connecticut, his father having removed from Hartford to Michigan; and his successor in command of the famous Zouaves was Noah L. Farnham, of Haddam.

It was on June 9 that General Butler's rashness led his men into the skirmish at Big Bethel. As a conflict, it seemed scarcely worthy of mention after the nation had become accustomed to the stupendous later engagements; but its name will always be fraught with sad import because there fell Theodore Winthrop, the flower of Connecticut birth and breeding, a man who had shown himself to be the inheritor of the Dwights, the Woolseys, the Edwardses, the Winthrops.

Through his father, Francis Winthrop, he was a descendant of Governor Winthrop, and on his mother's side could count six college presidents as relatives. Born in New Haven in 1828, he was graduated at Yale in 1848 with many honors, being the first to take the Clark scholarship. The pride of his class, he was always beloved and admired by his friends, who looked for great things in his career. He was a brilliant writer, and yet so shy of literary fame that his most important works are posthumous. He lived in the world of books, but being an athlete and a traveler, he could bring the mental and physical outfit of a soldier to the camp.

After many wanderings, he had tried to settle down to practice law in New York, had there become a member of the famous Seventh Regiment, and had hailed the opportunity of going with it to the defense of Washington. His breezy, witty leters from their quarters in the Capitol and on the shores of the Potomac, to the *Atlantic Monthly,* give a priceless picture of the happy hopefulness of the volunteers of that period, and show how a polished man of the world could accommodate himself to camp life as if it were a holiday.

In the words of his friend, George William Curtis,—"For one moment that brave inspiring form is plainly visible to his whole country, rapt and calm, standing upon the log nearest the enemy's battery, the mark of their sharpshooters, the admiration of their leaders: waving his sword, cheering his fellow-soldiers with his bugle voice of victory,—young, brave, beautiful: for one moment erect and glowing in the whirl of battle; the next, falling forward toward the foe, dead, but triumphant". His death sent a thrill of horror through the North. Crowds assembled to honor his funeral cortège in New York; his dirges sounded in New Haven

Thos. Wentherd

through the leafy streets which had known him throughout his life, and there, in the Grove Street Cemetery, he sleeps.

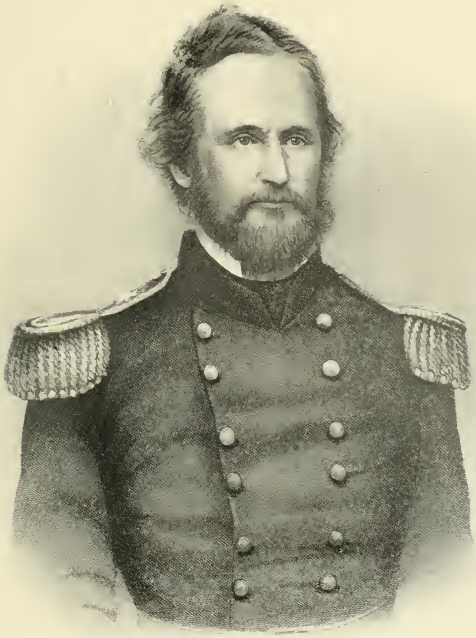
In the long line of heroes, the best that the country had, who died in defence of the Union, Connecticut lost another noble officer, Captain James Harmon Ward; a Hartford man, who had been a midshipman on the historic Constitution, had seen service in the Mediterranean, had become an authority in naval matters through his "Manual of Naval Tactics" and his work on Naval Ordnance and Gunnery, had urged the establishment of the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and had there filled a professor's chair. When he saw brother officers deserting their posts, he stood firm, and was one of the first to whom the Washington government turned for advice on naval affairs. The Potomac flotilla, which he organized, was the first Union war-fleet, and under his energetic direction inspired the rebels with dread, and cleared a safe passage by water to the capital. After silencing the batteries at Acquia Creek, he commanded the Freeborn in an attack on Mathias Point. Brave to a fault, he saw a gunner disabled, rushed to take his place, and in a moment fell, shot through the breast. He too was brought home, and received the highest honors of a soldier's funeral in Hartford. The nation could ill afford to lose so experienced and valuable an officer as Ward.

To the Border States all turned anxious eyes in 1861, for it was justly perceived that their behavior might turn the course of events at this critical moment. The U. S. Arsenal at St. Louis was in charge of Captain Nathaniel Lyon, a native of Eastford, Connecticut, who was graduated from West Point in 1841, and had served with distinction in Mexico and California. The Union owed Missouri to the promptness of Lyon, who with the intuition of genius, seemed to know just

when to be impetuous. So rapid and well directed were his dashing attacks that he gave the Governor, Claiborne Jackson, no time to complete his plans for taking the State out of the Union.

Jackson had gathered twelve hundred Confederate troops in a camp of instruction near St. Louis, but Lyon pounced on them, taking them all prisoners in thirty minutes. Such success frightened the Secretary of War, Mr. Cameron, and he superseded Captain Lyon by Harney, only to reinstate him after a week of failure, this time making him Brigadier-General. Governor Jackson called on all "loyal Missourians" to "rally to the flag of their State," and it has been wittily said that Gen. Lyon was the first to respond; for the very next day he started for the capital, Jefferson City, with three thousand hastily collected troops, drove Jackson from the city, and, pursuing, defeated him at Boonesville.

The wavering loyalty of Missouri was stiffened by this energetic action, and the State was saved. Not only rapid but indefatigable, Lyon waited only to put his hasty force in marching order to set forth for Springfield. Two deep rivers lay in his way, but notwithstanding, he marched two hundred miles in eleven days, accomplishing the last fifty miles in the incredible time of twenty-four hours. General Frémont was placed in command of the Union army in Missouri, and failed, for reasons much discussed since, to reinforce Lyon in his peril. Price and McCullough gathered a large army, and threatened Lyon's daily shrinking force. The longed-for help, which might have saved thousands of lives in after years, did not come; outnumbered but not dismayed, he planned a night attack on the enemy's camp at Wilson's Creek, and there, with five thousand against their twenty-



N. Lyon

three thousand, fought one of the fiercest and most skilfully managed battles of the war.

During six long hours, his men returned again and again to the charge, driving the enemy before them each time, although gradually losing numbers. Lyon's horse was killed, and he was wounded three times. With the cry, "Come on, my brave men! I will lead you!" he led the last charge, and fell where the hero seeks to fall. No one else could rouse his panting soldiers to such valor as he; and with him perished the hope of victory. Retreat was necessary; and in the confusion, Lyon's body was left on the field. Mrs. John S. Phelps was brave enough to cause it to be secreted in a cellar until it could be buried at night; and she aided his friends when they came to carry him away. In each city on the homeward route, he lay in state,—St. Louis, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, New York, Hartford; and at last in his own home, Eastford, thousands of mourners thronged to pay him the last tribute.

General Lyon was the first general killed in the war; and so pure and disinterested was his patriotism, so unquestioned his courage, so blameless his character, that he has gone into the little band of knights without fear and without reproach. Said Dr. Woodward:—"He placed no value upon repose, on comfort, or even life, when the land that he loved with all the devotion of his generous soul demanded their sacrifice." And from no less an authority than General Sherman came this tribute:—"He was the first man in this country that seized the whole question, and took the initiative, and determined to strike a blow and not wait for the blow to be struck. That he did not succeed at Wilson's Creek was no fault of his, but the result of causes which he could not control. The act itself was as pure and godlike as any that ever characterized

a soldier on the field of battle. I wish he could have lived; for he possessed many of those qualities which were needed in the first two or three years of the war, and his death imposed on the nation a penalty numbered by thousands on thousands of lives, and millions and millions of dollars".

Thus was Connecticut called to lament four gifted and intrepid officers in the very outbreak of the conflict. Their loss was irreparable, but the blood of those heroes of the summer of 1861 was not shed in vain. The story of their sublime deaths fired thousands all over the North to go into the army and emulate their virtues.

In July, the first three Connecticut regiments held a dangerous position at Falls Church, eight miles in advance of any other part of the Army of the Potomac. When General Tyler was warned from the War Office that he was in peril, he replied that they were only holding a point that must be held, and that he would be responsible for the watchfulness of his men. When McDowell's army marched to defeat at Bull Run, General Daniel Tyler commanded the First Division; and since those regiments, with the Second Maine, under Colonel Keyes of the Regular Army, composed the First Brigade of that Division, the Connecticut troops led the advance. They held Blackburn's Ford for two days. Perhaps had that success been promptly followed up, we should not attach its present meaning to the name of Bull Run.

In the great battle on Sunday, General Tyler fired the first gun at six in the morning; and so cool and unfaltering were the men of his division, so well were they gaining their points, that he was utterly astonished to receive the order to retreat. Fortunately, the Connecticut brigade was not so completely caught in the whirlwind of the rout as were some other regiments which were undoubtedly equally brave; and by well-

directed firing, it was able to keep off the enemy. Marching to Cub Run Bridge, which was by this time a mass of disorganized fugitives, the men forded the stream, and by their firm ranks protected the panic-stricken men until the rebel pursuers withdrew, admitting in their own reports that at that point they were thrown into confusion.

This service was widely acknowledged and appreciated. Said Stedman in the New York *World,* "The Connecticut brigade was the last to leave the field at Bull Run, and by hard fighting, had to defend itself and to protect our scattered thousands for several miles of the retreat". To quote the official report: "They occupied their old camping-grounds after the battle, and being ordered to Fort Corcoran, made their appearance there with six prisoners (many more had escaped), two pieces of abandoned artillery, one caisson, the implements of the sappers and miners, twenty horses, all their own baggage and camp equipage, and the tents and equipage of two Ohio regiments, the Second New York, and a company of cavalry, with their baggage wagons and property, which had been deserted. This was done during a continuous downpour of rain, and without any food for thirty-six hours".

Naturally, General Tyler was proud of his men. To him, according to contemporaries, was Connecticut supremely indebted for the reputation she achieved during the war. By jealousy in the War Department, he was kept from active service and promotion for the greater part of the war; but in the hearts of his men lingered the feeling expressed by General Hawley when he said, "General Daniel Tyler is the father of us all".

Special mention for gallantry was made of Colonel Terry, Colonel Chatfield, with their comrade, Colonel Jameson of the Maine regiment, Colonel Speidal, Captains Hawley and

Chapman, Adjutant Theodore C. Bacon, and Lieutenants Albert W. Drake, Charles Walter, and Alexander Ely. Colonel Terry called especial attention to the "devotion of Dr. Douglas and Dr. Bacon [Francis] to the wounded while under the hottest fire of artillery". The Rev. Hiram Eddy of Winsted, the Second's noble chaplain, was taken prisoner on the field with the wounded. These prisoners from the three-months regiments served their time most painfully for many months, sometimes a year, in Southern prisons.

The useful lesson of Bull Run taught the nation to abandon any idea of a speedy peace, and to prepare for a long war. On the day after the battle, President Lincoln was authorized by Congress to call out five hundred thousand troops, for three years of the war. In response to that call, men in the three months regiments, almost without exception, re-enlisted for three years as soon as they returned to their homes. Of these, five hundred became commissioned officers, and among them were three major-generals and five brigadier-generals.

The Fourth and Fifth Regiments had already enlisted for three years. It had been on this condition that the President had accepted three regiments instead of one from Connecticut at the first call, and they were already on duty. The Fourth behaved so well in camp at Hagerstown that the citizens petitioned to have it stay with them. Similar compliments were often won by Connecticut soldiers stationed in towns, even in the Old Dominion. Still, the defeat at Bull Run encouraged the opposition party in the State to loud advocacy of the peace policy, of which ex-Governor Thomas H. Seymour was an avowed champion.

In various parts of the State, especially in Fairfield and Litchfield Counties, there were peace meetings, and white

flags were raised. The white flag was generally quickly lowered in response to urgent invitations from an angry crowd, but the sympathizers with the seceded States were never entirely cowed. Governor Buckingham proclaimed the laws about treasonable language; and Morse, the editor of the *Bridgeport Farmer,* being induced to leave rather suddenly, transferred his editorial chair to the more congenial atmosphere of Augusta, Georgia.

Those who had hoped that such opposition would chill patriotic fervor were greatly disappointed; for never was enlisting so brisk as during the time of the peace-orators. The Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Regiments filled up their ranks very quickly during those summer days of 1861; and the Tenth and Eleventh were sent off in the autumn, as well as the Twelfth and the Thirteenth.

Governor Buckingham offered the first and second positions in the Seventh to the officers who had become favorites in the Second and First, Colonel Alfred H. Terry, and Captain Joseph R. Hawley.

Colonel Terry, although living in New Haven, was born in Hartford. He belonged to a fine old colonial family, and through the Rev. Thomas Hooker, William Wadsworth, and John Talcott, was descended from three founders of Hartford; through the Rev. James Pierpont and the Rev. Noadiah Russell, from two founders of Yale. Among his ancestors was General Nathaniel Terry, one of the foremost men of Hartford in his time. Alfred Howe Terry, his great-grandson, was a graduate of the Yale Law School, and practiced his profession in New Haven; but he had always had a strong taste for military life, and had been for years a member of the New Haven Grays. In 1861 he went to the front as the colonel of the 2d Connecticut Militia; and at

Bull Run, as has been said, won especial mention for his "gallantry and good conduct". Joseph R. Hawley was also of a Connecticut family. Having been graduated from Hamilton College in 1847, he became a law-partner of John Hooker in Hartford, in 1850, and then took up editorial work. In his office the Republican party was formed in 1856. Both of these men were to bear many honors in the coming years.

The Sixth and Seventh were to win the name of "fighting regiments". They were often brigaded together during the war, as were the Eighth and Eleventh, and the Twelfth and Thirteenth, and these pairs were sometimes spoken of as "sister regiments". In the autumn of 1861, the Sixth and Seventh left Fortress Monroe to take part in Sherman's expedition to South Carolina. Having narrowly escaped destruction in a fearful storm, they were privileged, after the brilliant naval battle at Port Royal, to take possession of the forts; so that the Seventh's Connecticut flag was the first to wave over South Carolina soil.

The occupation by Du Pont of Tybee Island, at the mouth of the Savannah, followed and completed this timely victory at Port Royal, and gave us throughout the war the control of Beaufort and the best harbors of South Carolina, as well as the river and the Sea Islands. The enforcement of the blockade was a serious matter at all periods of the war, and especially in the early years, when our small squadrons were hardly equal to the gigantic task thrust suddenly on them. The naval service attracted thousands of men from the State, and in fact, owing perhaps to her extensive seaboard, she has always sent more to that branch of the service than any other State of her population.

Almost all the Connecticut troops were fortunate in having

officers who drilled them thoroughly, and were exacting in matters of neatness and form; so that the reputation of those troops became deservedly high through the army. During the long intervals of comparative leisure while in camp, many of the regiments used their varied talents to such effect that their camps won unstinted praise from all beholders. Tidy cabins, sometimes roofed with the tents, were ranged on orderly streets, and neatness reigned without and within. In most of the regiments, the regular religious meetings held by the chaplains were eagerly attended, denominations being often swept away by a feeling of common brotherhood; and vicious habits were frowned on by the majority. Many regiments possessed small libraries, and enlivened the winter evenings by glee clubs, debates, and literary societies. Well was it that a few such hours could be secured to steady the men for the dark days before them.

To prevent any possibility of neglect of the troops while passing through New York, the Sons of Connecticut, therein residing, organized themselves for systematic action. Robert H. McCurdy was the President, W. H. Gilman the treasurer, and Charles Gould the secretary. They presented a very handsome flag to the Eighth Connecticut, and provided rooms where substantial meals were prepared for the men while in New York, and anything which was needed for their comfort was secured. Throughout the war, this thoughtful hospitality was at the service of every Connecticut soldier who chose to avail himself of it.

The patriotism of those who had to stay at home, the old, the young, women, and invalids,—in fact, all loyal people,—was as genuine as that of those who were in the camp, and they racked their brains to express their feeling by timely gifts to the soldiers. Money was poured out without stint.

From the outset, scarcely a household in the State had failed to send its gifts to the soldier boys. From scraping lint, rolling bandages, and making needle-books, the work advanced to things of vital necessity. Personal affection for the absent sons and brothers was not so narrow as to exclude the comrades, and it suggested all the comforts that could be transported to the field. On the festival days, Thanksgiving and Christmas, no one could sit down to a bountiful dinner without the assurance that the camp-table was spread with a feast.

It was not always easy to secure prompt delivery of the boxes and barrels in the field. So long as the Connecticut regiments were stationed near Washington,—that is, for seven or eight months,—packages were forwarded there twice a week by Craw and Martin, afterwards by J. M. Crofut, under the name of the Connecticut Troops Express. Before long the systematic habits of the people asserted themselves, with the result of the famous Sanitary and Christian Commissions, organizations which carried home blessings to the battle-field and to the hospital throughout the remainder of the war. That great work is a part of the nation's history, and Connecticut had a full share in it.

Space fails to describe the persistent enthusiasm with which sewing societies met to make sheets and shirts and dressing-gowns, and alas! arm-slings; and with which old ladies knitted socks, and housewives made jellies and pickles and pies; or the devotion with which men and women denied themselves in every way to contribute to the ceaseless streams of bounty that flowed to the men who were giving health and life to keep our country intact for us.

Besides money and material, time and trouble were given lavishly in establishing the orderly assembling and distribu-

tion of these gifts. The great sanitary fairs gave the keynote of turning every available article into sanitary funds. It was wisely resolved to accumulate and store supplies, so that the army hospitals could draw on them without hesitation in time of need.

It is impossible to touch this subject without referring to the disinterested and most successful labors of Mr. Alfred Walker of New Haven. Early in October 1861, as the result of an informal meeting of a few citizens, he announced in the newspapers that he would receive, pack, and forward any contributions for the Sanitary Commission. To some people it seemed a useless offer; and even he had so little idea of the magnitude which his enterprise would reach that he began his accounts in the few vacant leaves of an old ledger. In one week, Professor E. E. Salisbury had given him $20, James Brewster, James M. Hoppin, and N. B. Ives, each $10, for freight. Two days later, he sent the first box; in three weeks he had sent twenty-eight boxes; and in a year the value conservatively estimated, of the boxes forwarded by him reached $25,000.

This value was distributed among three hundred and seventy-one boxes to the Commission, and forty-four to Connecticut regiments; and the articles had been sent from eighty-three places, including New Haven. Great pains were taken to economize the generosity of the citizens. Mr. Walker gave the use of his own furniture store as an office and packing-house, and he and his clerks, with some ladies, kept all the accounts and did the packing gratuitously. He secured free transportation by boat to New York, whence his freight was taken to Washington by the Government. Mr. Walker also undertook the collection of money for defraying the necessary expenses, which for a year were $1,242.

Having set in motion all this machinery of mercy, Mr. Walker kept it in the most perfect running order. Four copies were made of each list of articles contributed, and the variety of these donations showed how thoroughly houses were ransacked for the cause. Perhaps one case contained twenty-seven bottles of wine; another was a cask of barberry jam; another held blankets and sheets; still another pillows, thread, needles, buttons, old linen, handkerchiefs, sugar and catsup; and one more, stockings, mittens, and games.

The country towns were unsparing in their zeal; and many a household was stinted in food and clothing, in order that a bag of feathers or a case of jelly or dried fruit might go to the soldiers. In the large cities and towns, the ladies organized Soldiers' Aid Societies which were conducted with the utmost system. The people at home, having once accepted the idea that the war would be long and severe, girded themselves for their part of the work, and prepared to give the very best support possible.

To some ladies was assigned the work of regularly collecting funds;—many individuals, churches and associations, pledging themselves to a certain sum at stated intervals; and thus a definite income was established. This was increased by every device known to providers of entertainment, from concerts and tableaux up to the great fairs. The Aid Societies in the cities were so organized that some ladies were on duty in turn every day to receive and send out articles to be sewn. The different committees for purchasing, cutting out, and corresponding, did their work with perfect regularity, and the accounts of every department were kept with the minuteness and exactness of a business establishment.

Generally the purchasing and cutting out of garments was

done in the cities; and the sewing, by the auxiliary societies in the country, where equal diligence was observed in performing their part. Only the best material was used. Each garment was finished by receiving the stamp of the Commission; and although, in many cases, a sick soldier in a field hospital was too ill to notice where his flannel gown or soft handkerchief came from, he felt the comfort, and often he was cheered by reading that proof of home interest. And the garments, made by loving though stranger hands, in far away Connecticut, often wrapped the soldier dead for their hasty burial.

The volume of work accomplished by the women of the State for the Sanitary Commission, and in private ways, can never be fully estimated. As a hint of its magnitude, it may be mentioned, that one lady in New Haven, Mrs. James D. Dana, during two years, superintended in her house the cutting out of seven thousand shirts and pairs of drawers; while Mrs. William A. Norton, the wife of Professor Norton of the Sheffield Scientific School, with his full consent, devoted all her time for one year to the work of Corresponding Secretary, and was in communication with one hundred places, including New Haven. We honor the women who struggled through colonial hardships; let us not fail to hold in equal remembrance those noble women of 1861-65, who with greater scope and demand for good deeds, achieved a work which would have appalled their foremothers.

The same interest which provided for the physical needs of the army, inspired the idea of supplying reading matter and regimental libraries. The religious life of men who were risking their lives for a principle was not likely to cease because they were beyond the sound of church bells, and some of the men missed the Sunday services at home. The Rev.

Edward Ashley Walker, chaplain of the Fourth, wrote home that he wanted a chapel tent; and forthwith, his father, the aforementioned Alfred Walker, secured for him a fine large tent, which was greatly enjoyed by the men as long as possible, was the model for many others, and finally was appropriated for the stern uses of an army hospital. In those tents the men held religious and temperance services, and to them they resorted for reading and writing. Francis Wayland of New Haven, invented a portable bookcase for regimental libraries, and fresh, desirable books, besides periodicals, were eagerly supplied from home.

As is well known, the U. S. Army of Volunteers contained a vast number of men not only well educated and accustomed to the refinements of life, but also imbued with the highest principles. This caused a standard of morals far higher than is often found in armies. Even if a joke, the story that the colonel of the Fourteenth Connecticut offered to pay five dollars for every man in it found swearing, and was never called on to redeem his pledge, is significant. Who can say that these influences of lofty purpose and upright life did not strengthen, and sometimes implant, those qualities of sublime patience and devotion to duty that made the Union army so remarkable?

In 1862 the unenlivening occupation of digging on Tybee Island was varied for the Sixth by an unproductive expedition against Charleston, which cost the regiment almost as much as a small battle. With the usual fatal short sight of those who provide for the physical wants of armies, some one at headquarters failed to perceive that to crowd men in a small ship for sixteen days with only poor and wormy food, no vegetables, and water that had stood for weeks in camphene casks, would be as fatal as cold lead.

Through all these trying months, the men were held to their first high standard by their beloved commanders, Colonel Chatfield and Colonel Terry; and when as a result of those months of toil, Pulaski fell, again the Seventh, followed by the Sixth, led the forces into the captured fort. These regiments had by this time acquired a reputation which secured for them hard fighting throughout the war.

The Eighth and Eleventh, in Burnside's expedition, went to Roanoke Island, and took part in the battle of New Berne, where Colonel Harland distinguished himself for bravery. In the battle of Roanoke Island, the Tenth lost its gallant colonel, Charles L. Russell, who had brought a whole company to the regiment with him, and had won the love and admiration of all for his soldierly qualities and noble character. In the following June, his successor, Albert W. Drake, who was one of the very first recruits from Hartford, died; Colonel Pettibone, the next, having resigned, was followed by Colonel Otis, and later by Colonel Greeley, both of whom ended the war as brigadier-generals.

It was in this winter of 1862 that the Tenth distinguished itself in the sharp conflict at Kinston, N. C. Regiment after regiment had been hurled back from the confederate defenses, when the Tenth was summoned from the rear, passing six regiments and a whole brigade, and charging on the enemy alone; carrying the burning bridge, capturing five hundred prisoners with small arms and eleven guns, and covering itself with glory. This regiment, it is needless to say, never lost its fine reputation for discipline and gallantry.

The Ninth, having been, soon after enlistment, assigned to Butler's "New England" expedition, rendezvoused at Boston, and seems to have passed from the care of the State to that of the government. It was not quite fairly

treated in the matter of original equipment, for reasons hidden in red tape; but the Irishmen who composed it, and their commander, Colonel Cahill, were patient and light-hearted when drudgery on Ship Island was required, brave when they had a chance to fight; and best of all, had, after months of privation, this praise from the general commanding the successful expedition to Pass Christian and Biloxi:—"These well-disciplined soldiers, although for many hours in full possession of two rebel villages, filled with what to them were most desirable luxuries, abstained from the least unauthorized interference with private property, and all molestations of peaceful citizens". They may have felt rewarded when the Ninth was allowed to make the first public parade through the streets of New Orleans after the capture, and was then distributed through the city on provost duty. One of its battle-trophies was the flag of the Third Mississippi; and it was the pleasure of the veterans of the Ninth, at the time of the Atlanta Exposition, to heal its battle-scars as much as possible, and then restore it to its original custodians.

The Twelfth was organized in Hartford especially for the Butler expedition, and was at first called the Charter Oak Regiment, in accordance with the early idea of giving to each regiment an appropriate State name, as the "Granite State", the "Pine Tree", etc. Louisiana was its destination, and it was the first to arrive before New Orleans. Later, its colonel, Henry C. Deming of Hartford, was detailed as Mayor of New Orleans, and served most acceptably in that capacity. During the winter of enlistment, while the Twelfth was in tents on the snowy fields outside of Hartford, the Thirteenth was in barracks in Durham and Booth's warehouse in New Haven, with the record of health in favor of fresh air against musty rooms.

The Thirteenth was a very choice regiment, and its commander, Colonel Birge, was extremely particular about the appearance of his men as well as their manual of arms. No blemish or awkwardness escaped his censure, but his men idolized him, and would have followed him into the teeth of any battery. Colonel Birge was placed in command of the defenses of New Orleans, and displayed remarkable ability. After a battle in which his "dandy" regiment had shown fine mettle, he said, "I noticed that it didn't run away as much as some of those dirty regiments!"

All of the Northern troops that were sent to Louisiana suffered much from the change of climate and the operations in the swamps enforced by most of the expeditions.

The Fourth Regiment was reorganized as the First Connecticut Heavy Artillery; and later, the Nineteenth, the Litchfield County regiment was transferred to the Artillery as the Second Connecticut Artillery, both making fine records.

The Fifth had been gathered for three months' terms under the banner of Colonel Colt of Hartford, and had disbanded, chiefly because he wished them to enter the regular army; and had re-enlisted on the same day for three years, under Colonel O. S. Ferry. It had ample experience in marching during the first winter, for it had to keep vigilant guard on the Baltimore and Ohio, and Chesapeake and Ohio railroads, and was always face to face with Stonewall Jackson, who wore out his own and our men by his rapid dashes at railroad bridges and camps.

The regiment once broke camp in the midst of a winter night, and marched fourteen miles through a snow-storm; and on another occasion marched forty-five miles in fourteen hours. It may be understood generally that the longest marches, being under the pressure of necessity, were per-

formed with very scanty rations. But in many cases, men would even then carry the pets which seemed to give them a home feeling; and letters of the time speak of the frequency with which a little dog, a squirrel, or even a kitten, would be seen peeping from the pocket of a marching soldier.

The most fearful ordeal which the Fifth encountered in its career was at Cedar Mountain, in Sept. 1862. That was the only time when it was obliged to yield, and that was after it had taken the key to the position, but was left without support. This was one of the most regrettable engagements of the war; for it was a butchery of noble men without adequate cause or result. On that day, the Fifth made a splendid appearance when it marched out with drums beating and colors flying; with two days' rations and one hundred and fifty rounds of ammunition to a man, in spite of only five minutes' notice. In a few hours, scores of those men were cold in death.

The battle was fought in the ravine at the foot of Cedar Mountain, a hill about five hundred feet high and covered with trees, in which the divisions of Jackson, Hill, and Ewell had been strongly posted. There was blundering on our side; Early was even calling for reinforcements, while Banks, not properly informed by Pope, supposed that he was in great force, and was pressing our men. Crawford's Brigade, comprising the Fifth, the Twenty-Eighth New York, and the Forty-Eighth Pennsylvania, was ordered to charge the rebel position. This involved crossing an open field of ragged stubble, swept by a devastating fire from the enemy concealed among trees and shrubs on three sides. Not a soldier wavered in that gallant charge.

At least six color bearers in succession were killed; and

at last the United States flag fell into the hands of the enemy. But when Sergeant Hewison, who bore the State colors fell, he managed to tear off the flag, wrap it inside his coat, and then crawl away. He was found by his comrades, who rescued him and took him to a hospital; and the precious colors floated proudly in many another battle. The three regiments, with the Tenth Maine, finally got into the woods, and there, in a hand-to-hand battle, felt on equal terms with the enemy, drove the Virginia regiments, completely broke through the enemy's lines, and would have held the position had they been supported.

The Southerners claimed that Jackson turned their rout into victory. The ground was strewn with the Union and Confederate dead. Of the three regiments making the charge, every field officer was killed, wounded, or captured; and of the line officers, the same may be said of the Twenty-Eighth New York; of the Fifth, all excepting two; and of the Forty-Sixth Pennsylvania, all excepting five.

Colonel Chatfield was twice captured. The second time, "with scarcely a bluecoat in sight", a handful of his men charged to his rescue. In vain; nearly every one of them was killed. From the eight companies that went into the battle, only a few more than half remained. A few words from General Crawford's report tell the story:—"I point the general commanding to the vacant places of my officers, and the skeleton regiments of my brigade, to speak more earnestly than I can do of the part they played in the day's contest".

Here it was that Lieutenant-Colonel Stone, of spotless character, was wounded and captured—to die during the winter in prison at Charlottsburg; here that bright and fearless youth, Adjutant Heber Smith, who had left his course at Trinity College to go to the war, perished; here, too, died

Lieutenant Henry Melzar Dutton, the son of ex-Governor Dutton, generous, genial, and brave, conspicuous in the battle as he grasped the colors from dying hands. He and Major Edward F. Blake were born in New Haven only a year apart; were both Yale men of high standing and lawyers of promise; and almost together they fell, each in the act of snatching the colors from disgrace. Major Blake had rare ability for anything he undertook, whether athletics, study, or war; and his earnest Christianity was so evidently a part of his life that all felt he was always ready for death. He was last seen waving the colors at the head of the left of his regiment. No one who survived him saw him fall.

Seldom has so great sacrifice been made with so little recompense as in that lamentable battle on that hot August day.

That disheartening summer of 1862, with its disappointments and reverses, its wasteful trench-digging, its exasperating vacillation and changes of plan, was the most trying of the war. The friends of secession looked triumphant, and the supporters of the Union wondered when the tide would turn. Stonewall Jackson drove us from the Shenandoah Valley, Lee raised the siege of Richmond, and forced Pope back to the defenses of Washington; and we were still testing our generals.

Governor Buckingham did not relax his efforts, and the army never lost hope, whatever the stay-at-homes did. The loyal governors encouraged the President to call, early in the July of 1862, for 300,000 troops for three years. The quota of Connecticut was 7,145.

Enthusiastic war-meetings were again held, and large bounties were offered to volunteers, the small towns vying with the cities in liberality. The high-water mark in boun-

ties at this time was reached by Bloomfield and Watertown, each offering $250 per man. General Daniel Tyler came home, and was indefatigable in preparing the new regiments for departure. So zealously did the State respond to this call, that it was the first to fill its quota, with a thousand to spare. Ever since the outbreak of the war, no village was so small that it did not have a company "drilling" regularly. The tramp of marching feet, the sharp thud of muskets grounded, the quick orders, became familiar sounds. The fever for military science touched all classes, and the professors of Yale College did not think it beneath their dignity to join the students in those drills which gave first lessons to many a youth who proved to be a hero in the "tug of war".

These July regiments must have derived some benefit from such preparation, in contrast with the unprepared state of the first ones. They were of choice material. The Fourteenth was raised from the State in general; the Fifteenth, from New Haven County, and was called the "Lyon Regiment". The Sixteenth was raised in Hartford County, Francis Beach of the regular army being its colonel. To this regiment the town of Farmington contributed sixty-five men. On its rolls were some of the finest names in the State. It went out with high hopes, and it seemed doomed to misfortune.

In the Seventeenth, a Fairfield County regiment, was the famous private, Elias Howe, Jr., one of the richest and most patriotic men in the State. He had said that the "only thing for him to do was to go and learn to do what he could with a musket", but his chronic lameness made it impossible for him to serve even as a sentry. Determined to be of use, he offered to be the regiment's postmaster and expressman. At that time, it was stationed near Baltimore; and having sent home for a suitable horse and wagon, Howe drove into town

twice a day for the mail and packages, which he delivered with painstaking so unbounded as to bring sunshine to both ends of the route. Mr. Howe put on no airs, and sought no rank; but there was a time when he was the most famous man in the Seventeenth. The stringency in the Government treasury had caused a dearth of pay for four months. This meant serious discomfort for the families of some of the men, and dissatisfaction for all.

One day the Paymaster in Washington, seeing a quiet young man awaiting his turn at his desk, was rather gruff when he discovered that he had "come to see about the back pay of the Seventeenth Connecticut" and intimated more forcibly than politely that his time was too valuable to be wasted by idle complaints. To his utter astonishment, the young man meekly replied that all he wanted was to find out the amount of two months' pay for the regiment, that he might give his check for it! Accordingly, he paid $31,000 to the Government; and two days later, Private Elias Howe, Jr., in line with the others, gave his receipt for his share, $28.65! It was not strange that the officers in a neighboring regiment sent to "borrow the Seventeenth's private". Mr. Howe remained with the regiment till it was mustered out in 1865.

This well-known incident is a good illustration of the characteristic habit of Connecticut people, to feel a personal responsibility for the war. Each citizen, each town, although vastly preferring peace to war on general principles, was yet determined, when war was inevitable, to carry it through with the same promptness and thoroughness that had been successful in the arts of peace and the pursuit of wealth.

A month after the July call for three years' troops, came one for 300,000 for nine months; and the State was again canvassed for its strongest and best. There were those who,

as usual, objected to the continuance of the war; but the recruiting was urged briskly, and as the State had a large surplus to her credit, the second quota of 7,145 was made without great difficulty.

The necessity of resorting to the dreaded and objectionable draft was escaped in many places, in some very narrowly. In New Haven, a large crowd assembled at the old State House on the morning of the drafting day. Speeches were made; one citizen offered $15 for one volunteer; another offered that sum for each of ten; another offered the same sum for thirty; then a collection of small sums was made, amounting to $1,200 for equal distribution. The drafting was to begin at four o'clock. At a quarter before four, twenty-five men were needed to complete the number. The drafting was deferred a half-hour. At half-past four the quota for New Haven was full, and nine cheers expressed the satisfaction of the crowd. Hartford drafted for four hundred and twenty-one.

It was soon evident that conscripts were not the best soldiers, and it was fortunate that our armies never contained very many of them. In the regiments that had gone into the service from purely patriotic motives, there was a decided disrelish to having additions to their depleted ranks made from "bounty-jumpers". Much may be said on the other side, however, for the necessity was very great.

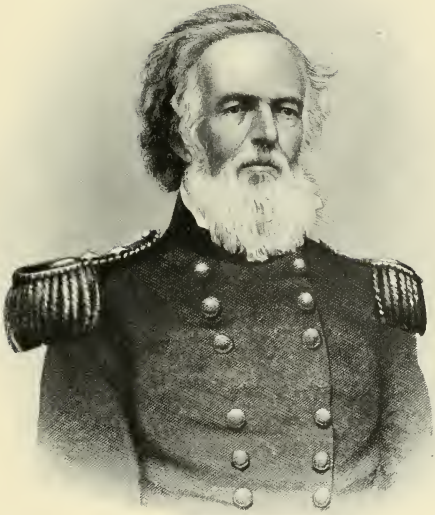
At that time, fifteen regiments were raised in two months Then it was said that Connecticut was the first State to fill her quota. This was true as far as New England went; but it appeared later that that honor belonged to Iowa. In the words of the *Boston Traveller*:—"Connecticut worshipped the Union, and believed that work was worship".

It was in September of that year that some of those raw

regiments, by a blunder, were hurled into the bloodiest battle of the war, Antietam. The Eighth and the Eleventh were in the pursuit of Lee, who had crossed the Potomac and was moving on Frederick. The Fourteenth had been mustered in only two weeks, the Sixteenth only one, the latter without muskets until the last moment, when, without sufficient drill or experience in brigade movements and orders, they were ordered to join Harland's Brigade, a part of the Ninth Corps, which was far in advance. At South Mountain, the Eighth and Eleventh were held in reserve.

At Antietam, after uneasy sleep, the men rose to a day of horrid battle; the Eleventh "to leap into the valley of death" in the desperate effort to take Antietam Bridge; the Fourteenth, to get its lesson of war in the hard school of experience. The river was crossed by two fords, far apart, and by three bridges. On that beautiful day, Lee had posted himself admirably for four miles on the wooded heights along the winding Antietam, using fences and stone walls as breastworks. The crests of the steep banks bristled with artillery. The Union troops were on the east side of the river, behind a low range of hills. Around these crossings the fighting raged in fury. The Fourteenth was fighting for thirty-six hours, without anything to drink and only a little hardtack to eat, exposed to the murderous fire of sharpshooters, and yet managing to capture forty or fifty rebel prisoners and two flags.

Of the Sixteenth, only half the regiment could be mustered on the second day, and the surgeons worked till they dropped down from exhaustion. The Eighth, with its greater experience, advanced to the very crest of the hill, and made an orderly retreat when it was inevitable. But at what a loss! Dead and wounded officers were scattered on the



Jos. K. F. Mansfield

ground, and only a hundred of the regiment could gather round the colors.

The horror of the dismal night when two armies paused from exhaustion, when the deathly silence was broken by the cries and groans of the wounded, left its ineffaceable stamp of unequaled gloom on the memories of those boys just from home. In this dreadful battle, Connecticut reached the climax of her losses, one hundred and thirty-six killed outright, and four hundred and sixty-six wounded.

The long list of officers was headed by Joseph K. F. Mansfield, Major-General of Volunteers, Brigadier-General U. S. A., a soldier of irreproachable reputation. Born in New Haven, educated in Middletown and at West Point, he had served with great distinction in the Mexican War, and was Inspector-General U. S. A., in Texas, when the war broke out. Neither persuasion nor insult could swerve his integrity, and with some difficulty he escaped to the North to help his country in her peril. Reaching Washington on April 15th, on horseback and through by-ways, he was of immense service in engineering and building the forts for the defense of the capital. In spite of Scott's hesitation he took the responsibility of fortifying Arlington. Having led our forces in the capture of Norfolk, he had ridden in haste, in response to McClellan's summons, to take command of Banks' corps, and had arrived at Sharpsburg the night before the battle. On the next day, the General, while gallantly leading his corps, received his mortal wound, and he died the next evening. His loss was keenly felt. Lieutenant Governor Douglass, his townsman, went to the front to bring him home, and he was buried with all the honor that the State could give.

Connecticut indeed sat in the shadow of great tribulation

after Antietam; and she lamented sorely for her slain. Among them were Lieutenant Wait of Norwich, an eighteen-year-old-sophomore (in Union College) when he enlisted in the Eighth, but so bright and lovable that his presence was an inspiration; and Lieutentant Maine, past middle life, and with all the sober fortitude of his years; and Sergeant Marsh, who rose from a sick bed to go into battle, and fell under the sunrise gun; and Sergeant Whiting Wilcox, a modern Hercules; and Col. Henry Kingsbury, who brought the discipline of West Point and the enthusiasm of a noble soul to the perfecting of his regiment; and the scholarly, dainty, fearless, absolutely gentlemanly Captain John Griswold, also of Lyme, whose character was shown in his last words. The gleaming of blue water through the tent-door brought an apt quotation from Horace to the lips that closed with courteous thanks for the care he had received, deprecation of absorbing attention that might have been given to others, and the last message, "Tell them at home that I died for my country;" and Captain Drake, who was called the "very soul of courtesy"; and Captain Manross, a professor at Amherst, a mineralogist so accomplished that Professor Dana said of him that "his death was a loss to the scientific world"; and a long line of others, just as brave as these and just as dear to their friends.

They died as have died the heroes in all ages.

CHAPTER III

The Days of Strife

WHILE the army had been making history on land, the navy had not failed to distinguish itself. Possibly the long coast line of the state had induced an especial interest in sea-fighting; at all events, the fact that sturdy, honest Gideon Welles held the portfolio of the Navy, and that Connecticut naval officers were winning laurels, caused that branch of the service to be contemplated with much satisfaction.

The State gave Rear Admiral Francis H. Gregory, Commodores John Rogers, C. R. P. Rogers, and R. B. Hitchcock, Lieutenant Commanders Henry C. White, Edward Terry and Francis M. Bunce, afterward Admiral, besides Andrew Hull Foote, Commodore, afterwards Admiral U. S. N.

Like Mansfield, Foote was a native of New Haven, and like him, had had careful religious training at home. He was a lifelong advocate of temperance principles, and his powers of persuasion must have equalled his strength of conviction; for twice during his life did the sailors on his ship voluntarily give up the spirit ration, and that with satisfaction to themselves. One of these ships was the famous Cumberland.

After a long and varied service in African and Mediterranean waters, and at the barrier forts on the Canton, he found himself in 1861 in command of the Brooklyn Navy Yard. When the great problem of opening the Mississippi was considered, Commodore Foote was called on to construct and organize a flotilla of gunboats. With extraordinary exertions, he evoked a river navy out of chaos; and his name will ever be connected with the cheer of one of our first successes, the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson. From that victory Commodore Foote went to the more difficult task of reducing the strong fortifications of Island Number Ten.

The army and navy were of mutual assistance; and when the channel across the peninsula had been dug in the surprisingly short time of nineteen days, and Foote's gunboats appeared on both sides, the question was quickly decided. A great store of munitions of war fell into our hands; but still greater was the advantage derived from the free passage of the river at that point.

Commodore Foote was rewarded by promotion to Admiral, and although enfeebled by a wound, he did not abate his zeal. In the midst of preparations for relieving Admiral DuPont, on the South Atlantic Squadron, he died in New York, June 26, 1863. He was buried with honors and lamentation in New Haven. Conscientious, patriotic, and intrepid beyond ordinary men, he was mourned by the whole North. Foote's old temperance ship, the Cumberland, went down with colors flying, on that historic morning when the Merrimac sallied forth to destroy our fleet at Hampton Roads, and had not yet met the Monitor.

The name of Ericsson had not rung round the world then; but it was known in engineering circles as that of an inventor of genius. In the Princeton, a naval vessel designed by him in 1844, the warning note of the Monitor had been sounded; for its engines were below the water-line, and it used a screw instead of paddle-wheels for propulsive force. But the unfortunate bursting of a gun, for which Stockton, not Ericsson, was responsible, causing the death of two Cabinet members while on a party of pleasure, with President Tyler on board, resulted in the unjust refusal to pay Ericsson for his services. He at last declared that he would never set foot in Washington again.

The plan of the Monitor had been made for some years, and in 1854 he had a letter of thanks from Napoleon III.

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for the privilege of examining it. So near did France come to gaining a prize; but she was even then beginning to use armored vessels. Secretary Welles had asked for a Board to look into and order floating batteries; but Ericsson, with the plan of the immortal Monitor in his hand, could not get a hearing. To him, while despairing of favor, and yet sure of the value of his invention, C. S. Bushnell came for estimates on the amount of metal that could be borne by the Galena, which Bushnell was building for the Government. After his business was finished, Ericsson showed him his pasteboard model; and Bushnell was so filled with enthusiasm for it that he carried it at once to Hartford to show it to Secretary Welles, who happened to be there at that time. He too, was greatly impressed by the importance of the matter, and urged Bushnell to take it before the Naval Board.

Full of zeal, Mr. Bushnell secured the co-operation of John A. Griswold and John F. Winslow, both at the head of large iron works in Troy; and also interested Secretary Seward, who gave a telling letter of introduction to President Lincoln. Armed with this, he hastened to Washington, and was successful in arousing the interest of the President to the degree that he offered to accompany him the next day to the Naval Board and give his personal aid to the presentation of the plan. But even that was insufficient to win the naval officers.

On a second hearing, Mr. Bushnell presented the future merits of the battery and the past achievements of Ericsson in glowing terms; but still some men on the Board were obdurate. Undaunted, Mr. Bushnell rushed back to New York to accomplish the almost hopeless task of luring Ericsson to Washington to speak for himself. He says in his letter to Secretary Welles:—"I appeared at his house the

next morning precisely at nine o'clock, and heard his sharp greeting:

" 'Well, how is it'?

" 'Glorious' said I.

" 'Go on, go on', said he with impatience. 'What did they say'?

" 'Admiral Smith says it is quite worthy of the genius of an Ericsson'.

"The pride fairly gleamed in his eye.

" 'But Paulding—what did he say of it'?

" 'He said it was just the thing to clear the rebels out of Charleston with'.

" 'How about Davis'? he inquired, as I appeared to delay a moment.

" 'Captain Davis' said I, 'wants two or three explanations in detail that I couldn't give him, and Secretary Welles wishes you to come right on and make them before the entire board in his room at the Department'.

" 'Well, I'll go to-night' ".

The glowing eloquence of the inventor melted the last scruples of the icy members of the Board, and extorted its approval of a contract. In Ericsson's words, "I returned at once, and before the contract was completed, the keel plate of the intended vessel had already passed through the rollers of the mill."

By Bushnell's efforts, Mr. Winslow and Mr. Griswold became partners with Captain Ericsson and himself in responsibility for building the Monitor; losses and profits to be equally divided among the four; "the three (American) associates agreeing to advance all money needed for the construction of the vessel". N. D. Sperry of New Haven, and

Daniel Drew of New York, indorsed Mr. Bushnell's bond for his share.

On Oct. 25, 1861, the four partners signed a contract with Thomas Fitch Rowland, an enthusiastic young man, himself interested in floating batteries, for the construction of the "iron battery" at his works, the Continental Iron Works, at Greenpoint, N. Y., "in a thorough and workmanlike manner and to the entire satisfaction of Captain Ericsson", and "in the shortest possible space of time".

In spite of all efforts to look at the situation from the naval standpoint of 1861, the terms made by the Government seem very hard:—$275,000 would be paid in instalments, with twenty-five per cent. reserved; one hundred days were stipulated as the time for completing the work; a trial of ninety days after being handed over to the Government was required before the test would be deemed sufficiently thorough to assure final acceptance; failure to meet any of these requirements would involve the return of every dollar received from the Government. Mr. G. V. Fox, the able Assistant-Secretary of the Navy, was converted to friendship; but the boat was truly built under continued official protest. In truth, there was so much delay in receiving the actual money that on Dec. 26, 1861, before the receipt of a dollar from the Government, $158,043.42 had been expended on the work; and less than three weeks before the launching of the Monitor, only $37,500 had been received. Thus did the Naval Board gain a model for an epoch-making war-vessel without spending a dollar in experiments. As all the world knows, it was by prodigious efforts that under such drawbacks, the boat was sent forth on its first trip—a trip that was to revolutionize naval warfare.

Never has history afforded a more dramatic scene than

that of the morning of March 9, 1862, when the "little cheese-box on a raft", its engineer sick, its volunteer crew buffeted by a storm, under strict orders to avoid meeting the rebel iron-clad, and unconsciously acting against orders in being there at all, steamed into the glow of the burning Congress at Hampton Roads, challenged the victorious Merrimac, and drove her back to trouble us no more.

We cannot adequately conceive the crisis. The vast iron-clad bulk of the Merrimac-Virginia had swept upon the wooden fleet at Hampton Roads with the devastation of a mythical monster. The Cumberland sunk, the Congress burning, all that came in her way destroyed, it was evident that every ship in our proud navy was at her mercy. Profound consternation seized Washington and New York. The Secretary of War, expecting every moment to feel the enemy's shot from the river, sent hasty orders to all Northern ports to protect themselves as best they could. The eminent danger of losing Fortress Monroe, and thereby our hold on Virginia, of the crippling of the Army of the Potomac, of the raising of the blockade and of the recognition of the Confederacy by foreign powers, made loyal hearts sink, and gold, that thermometer of panics, go up.

No crisis of the war involved so dire disaster with so little reason for hope. That it became a momentous victory instead of a national disgrace seems even now almost incredible. "It was Providence that decreed the success of the Monitor, not the navy." And under Providence, is it not evident that the Monitor would never have been present in that dreadful emergency had it not been for the inextinguishable enthusiasm and enterprise of Mr. Bushnell, who had the insight to recognize a work of genius, the sagacity to enlist the assistance of men of note, and the ardor to inspire an associa-

tion of private individuals to accomplish the salvation of the North? No one else has ever been heard of who was impelled to push forward Ericsson's invention with persistent energy till he conquered fate and wrested from her immortal victory.

The expression of gratitude from his fellow-citizens has been delayed; but an association, beginning in New Haven, and extending throughout the North, has been formed with Colonel Norris G. Osborne as president, which will soon show, by a fitting memorial, the appreciation of the unique service rendered by Cornelius S. Bushnell.

The cold, dreary December of 1862 saw the shocking defeat of Fredericksburg, a hopeless and useless proof of the heroic stuff that was in the Northern army. It is idle to inquire into the reasons which impelled Burnside to his wild attempt to storm a fortified hillside on the far side of a river which must be crossed by a pontoon bridge. The heart-breaking sacrifice of human life was made; and it was unavailing. Connecticut did not suffer more than other states, for some of her regiments were held as reserves; but the best was bad enough. The Eighth, Eleventh, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth, Twentieth, Twenty-first and Twenty-seventh, were engaged in the three days' contest.

When the Fifty-Seventh and Sixty-Sixth New York had been driven from the pontoon bridge they were laying, one hundred men of the Eighth Connecticut, under Captain Marsh and Lieutenants Morgan and Ford, offered themselves for the perilous work, and in the midst of a death-dealing fire accomplished their task. The Eighth, Fifteenth, Sixteenth and Twenty-First were in Harland's Brigade with the Fourth Rhode Island and during the entire second day held an advanced position near the Eleventh. The Twenty-Seventh, in Hancock's Division, made a bold charge on the

stone wall, and succeeded in holding a position within one hundred yards of it; but the Fourteenth suffered most severely in that awful, futile charge on Marye's Heights. The sheer bravery of those repeated dashes against that stone wall at the bottom of the hill, with shot and shell bursting from cannon and mortars and muskets above, behind, on all sides, with ranks mowed down each moment, and almost certain defeat in view, extorted praise from even hostile pens. The loss of the Fourteenth was very severe—twenty-four killed and mortally wounded, and eighty-one wounded.

Among the dead were Captain Gibbons, who had raised his own company, and had been a faithful, efficient officer; and Lieutenant Theodore Stanley, a high-bred youth, one of the five Stanley cousins of New Britain who enlisted, and of whom only one survived the war. The wounded were so many that they lay on the field in agony for hours, and in many cases, days. One private in the Seventeenth, shot through both head and chest, lay there until time enough had passed for a relative to go from Connecticut to the field, and by persistent searching among the heaps of dead and dying, rescue him. He survived; but hundreds or thousands must have perished because it was impossible to succor them in time.

Not long before this, the Thirteenth, in Louisiana, had had its first real battle, at Georgia Landing, and a successful one. The Twenty-Eighth was sent to occupy Pensacola, the Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth were in the expedition against Baton Rouge.

The versatility of the men was often disclosed in those campaigns in Louisiana. Is it necessary to build a firm and commodious bridge at Bayou Sara? Forth from the ranks of the Twenty-Fifth steps Sergeant William Webster of

Unionville, who knows all about bridge-building; and in a short time the bridge is completed in fine style, after a West Point engineer has despaired of the job. Is the Twelfth Regiment in need of more surgeons? There is Private Dr. Fletcher, who cheerfully gives his professional services, receiving only the trifling pay for "extra duty". Is another steamboat demanded in New Orleans? Colonel Colburn of the Twelfth is discovered to be an expert; and although he has to stop to build a saw-mill so that the logs from a rebel boom may be utilized, a strong steamboat, one hundred and fifty-four feet long over all, is quickly built.

All these regiments suffered privations, disappointment, and hardships. It was hard to dig and march in the mud for days, for no apparent purpose, to have the quinine so tightly tied up with red tape in New Orleans that sick people could not have it, to be ordered into a meadow which resembled a pond to pass the night; but they bore these trials philosophically.

In the summer days of '63, those Northern boys sweltered through the Red River expedition, and fought and died at Irish Bend and at Port Hudson. It was then that the Thirteenth, the "dandy regiment", proved its mettle. Assault after assault on the stern defenses of Port Hudson had been made in vain, and the last, June 14, had been especially disastrous. General Banks, under these circumstances, called for a thousand men, as a 'forlorn hope', to storm the fortifications.

From the Thirteenth, sixteen officers—all but one—and two hundred and fifteen privates responded, more than from any brigade even in the whole corps. Colonel Birge, their colonel and brigade commander, was selected to lead the attack. All knew that they were going into the very jaws of

destruction, and each one arranged his affairs in the solemn expectation of death. Day after day they made their preparations for an instantaneous assault; but before the time came, the surrender of Port Hudson, following the fall of Vicksburg, relieved them of the dreadful tension. The promise of a medal for each private, and promotion for each officer, was not kept, except in the case of some officers, who received brevets after the close of the war.

Time fails to chronicle the deeds of daring as well as of patience in that long siege of Port Hudson; to tell of the charges across ravines and pitfalls and abatis, beneath raking fires of a desperate variety of missiles, "explosive bullets, case knives, flat-irons, spikes, hatchets, ramrods, pig-iron and wooden plugs wound with cotton"; of the exploits of individuals who crept up to the enemy's embrasures to have private reconnoissance of affairs inside; or of dashes on to the lost field to recover the colors from a fallen guard.

When the Twenty-Fifth returned from Baton Rouge, the men had to pass a dreadful night without food or shelter. Quartermaster John S. Ives, himself almost dying, rode his equally unsteady horse into Baton Rouge, through a pouring rain, and brought back coffee and sugar to the regiment, thereby probably saving many lives. The nine-months regiments, the Twenty-Fourth, Twenty-Fifth, Twenty-Sixth and Twenty-Seventh, distinguished themselves at Port Hudson.

On one day appointed for a grand assault, the order for the Twenty-Fourth was that each man should take two thirty-pound gunny bags of cotton to fill up a ditch over which the charging column was to pass, and that done, join the charge. The charging party was unable to stand the murderous fire, but "the Twenty-Fourth thrust their cotton-bags before them and rushed onto the crest of a little hill within fifty yards of

the enemy's works, piled up their cotton bags, forming a temporary breastwork, and held it; and of all the regiments that advanced across the plateau in the morning, the Twenty-Fourth was the only one able to maintain its position." Quickly arranging their Jacksonian intrenchments, the men held their ground till night, when, under cover of darkness, they strengthened it with sand; and there, within speaking distance of the enemy, and so surrounded by impassable obstructions as to be practically isolated from their friends, they remained.

On the third day, the Connecticut colors given by the Middletown ladies were unfurled, to the unspeakable rage of the defenders of Port Hudson, and amid cheers and salutes from the Twenty-Fourth and an indignant fire from the enemy. For twenty-five days this little band, reduced to one hundred men, held their tiny fort, which they christened Fort Mansfield. One-half was on duty each twenty-four hours; and they did a great work in mining, digging parallels, and gradually perfecting an approach which would have ended in the downfall of the fortifications.

The shattered troops of the Army of the Potomac were allowed to rest during the winter of 1862-3, after Burnside had been relieved by Hooker in the command.

The opposition in Connecticut, always a nearly balanced State, now swelled its murmurs to loud roars of condemnation of the war policy. Never was the little State more racked by an election than in the spring of 1863. Thomas H. Seymour, the Democratic candidate for Governor, openly abetted the rebellious States by his published words; the party lines, swept away for a brief time at the beginning, were now sharply drawn on the question of peace or war; and the war

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was really fought a second time on home ground. The regiments in the field sent home urgent and almost unanimous appeals for the re-election of Buckingham, and each soldier whose furlough fell near the time of the spring election rejoiced in the opportunity of voting. Buckingham was re-elected by a majority of more than two thousand, so the war party was safe for another term.

The unfortunate disaffection to the war was of course strengthened by the disaster of Hooker at Chancellorsville. In early May, in full force and with high hopes, he crossed the Rappahannock to try his fortunes in the advance on Richmond. The failure of his attempt is too well known to need full description. The fearful contest for three days, when armies surged back and forth in desperate encounter, and even lighted up the darkness of the night with the glare of the conflict, ended in retreat and disaster for Hooker's army. The forced marches, the individual gallantry of regiments and men, could not counterbalance the over-confidence of the generals. For the Confederates, the joy of victory was clouded by the death of Stonewall Jackson, slain by the mistake of his own men. It is pleasant to know that all admitted that the Connecticut troops behaved gallantly, and that the best authorities uphold the course of General Sedgwick, who was "set an impossible task to be accomplished in an impossible time." Obeying his orders, he took the heights of Fredericksburg, and threatened the rear of Lee; but was forced to recross the river.

Gloom fell on the North; for victories on the east and west, although now seen in their true importance, did not then count when all our efforts to go "on to Richmond" failed. But the darkest night of our affairs then turned to the glad morning of the news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg; mak-

ing probably the most joyful Fourth of July that this nation has ever known.

Lee's victory at Chancellorsville led to his defeat at Gettysburg; for his men, measuring their opponents less wisely than he did, really demanded an advance which his judgment disapproved. When he saw Meade's army intrenched on the famous fish-hook range of hills, he must have perceived that Marye's Heights would be re-enacted with the parts exchanged.

The Fifth Connecticut arrived on the evening of the 1st of July, and took its place on Culp's Hill on the morning of the 2d, where it built strong earthworks. Being called off to support Sickles, it was ordered to return to its first position when he fell back to his new line; but it found the Confederates in possession. At the end of that day and the beginning of the next, the regiment was divided; a part retaking its own works, and the other part moving to the right to support the cavalry.

The Fourteenth, with numbers sadly reduced by the dreadful battle it had fought, was in the Second Corps, when it drove back Longstreet from his grand charge on the ridge, on July 3. That forenoon the regiment had distinguished itself by its dashing capture of the brick barn and the house of William Blinn, involving an exposure to a galling fire for an unprotected half mile.

The Seventeenth was hurried on to the field in the midst of the first day's fierce fight, and in the Eleventh Corps, at the exposed right, and on Oak Hill, now Barlow's Knoll, it was overwhelmed by a superior force, losing one hundred and ninety-eight men. Here Lieutenant-Colonel Fowler was killed. The Seventeenth was ordered to retire to Cemetery Hill, and for two days of fierce fighting held the position.

The Eighteenth was not at Gettysburg, having suffered in its first battle at Winchester; where General Milroy, with only 7,000, was outnumbered by Early, with 30,000. The Eighteenth won praise from friend and foe for its courage and discipline. In a charge made into the very heart of Johnson's division, five hundred men and their noble commander, Colonel Ely, were captured. General Walker showed his magnanimity by returning Colonel Ely's sword to him on the battle-field. If Milroy's little army had not checked Lee's advance by thus sacrificing itself, it is probable that Gettysburg would have been fought on another field, and possibly with another result.

The Twentieth, in the Twelfth Corps, distinguished itself on Culp's Hill; for seven long hours warding off Ewell's Corps, and finally hurling it back to charge no more.

The Twenty-Seventh had been greatly weakened by wholesale capture at Chancellorsville; but the seventy-five men who were left, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Merwin, a fine New Haven man, himself just returned from the not invigorating experience of Southern prisons, were with the Second Corps, and did effectual service in supporting the wavering line of the Third Corps on the Wheat Field. Then fell Colonel Merwin, so brave and true and beloved that he was greatly mourned.

The good fortune of the Second Light Battery was remarkable. In position for fifty-six consecutive hours, and in the hottest fighting, it reported not one man killed, and only three men wounded and three horses killed.

Surely each regiment that was permitted to take part in that battle, the most momentous fought on American soil during the nineteenth century, must have rejoiced in that high privilege; and well may the fast-dwindling ranks of

veterans look with pride on the historic field, where the nameless dead yet speak with eloquence, and regimental monuments mark the spot where the great question was decided.

But in the shadow of Charleston's frowning forts, victory still wavered in her choice. In March 1862, Colonel Terry of the Seventh had been promoted to be brigadier-general; and Joseph R. Hawley, dear to Hartford County, was made colonel in his place. The Sixth and Seventh were brigaded under General Terry. There had been a brilliant and successful fight at Pocotaligo, where Lieutenant-Colonel Speidal and Colonel Chatfield, who had made the Sixth a first-class regiment, were wounded. There had been long weeks of intense work on the level wastes of Folly Island, when the men appeared to take life as a military holiday by day; and by night, worked like spirits of the mine, stealthily, swiftly, and silently toiling to build intrenchments, to land and drag into place heavy guns; wading through mud and water knee-deep, unfaltering even in violent thunderstorms. At last they had forty-eight guns in place for carrying out General Gillmore's plans at Morris Island, with reference to reducing the defenses of Charleston. The enemy appeared to have little suspicion of what was going on.

At midnight of July 9, the men were under arms for the attack on Morris Island; and at five the battle began. A detachment of the Seventh landed first, followed by the Sixth. After lying in boats for two hours under a heavy fire, they leaped into the water, knee-deep, "and rushed forward with bayonets fixed and an honest Union cheer", keeping the advance all day, and capturing one hundred and twenty-five prisoners and a rebel flag bearing "Pocotaligo" on it.

Two days later came that first assault on Fort Wagner, which was one of the most memorable exhibitions of sheer

courage that the war, full of daring and heroic deeds, can furnish. General Strong commanded in person. Lieutenant-Colonel Rodman was to lead the assault, supported by the Seventy-Sixth Pennsylvania and Ninth Maine, with the Third and Seventh New Hampshire in reserve. In the early morning light, the devoted Seventh advanced to the assault. Like waves beating on the rocks, again and again those men faced the blinding fire of the battery, at a "stately double-quick", in the words of the foe. With a cheer they dressed their broken ranks each time, their only chance of taking the fort by storm being to rush on without stopping to fire themselves.

The survivors almost reached the goal. They were so far under the guns that the gunners could not hit them; but, alas! the terrific fire had mowed down their support, the Seventy-Sixth Pennsylvania had stopped for a few moments to lie down beneath the storm, and although they rose and fired bravely afterwards, the precious moments were gone in which victory might have been won. The little band of the Seventh could not retreat. Could it surrender?

Lieutenant-Colonel Rodman had fallen; to Captain Valentine Chamberlain the men looked. The narrative may be continued in the words of a Charleston writer, after ten years had passed. "He said to his men, 'You may yield here, but I will not'! Suiting the action to the word, he clambered up the face of the works, and cried out to the overwhelming numbers who confronted him, not one of whom offered violence to so stalwart and fearless an enemy—'I want to surrender to the officer who fought this battery' ".

We do not need to eulogize this wondrous first charge on July 11; for the admiration of regiments from other States and of the foe himself has been unreservedly expressed. One

Southern writer has thus recorded his opinion: "I actually felt sorry for them; it was 'war' and hence 'fair'; but it did seem to me that we were taking an unfair advantage of them! Their success depended on reaching the battery without delay; and hence they had to receive those dreadful volleys without responding; the enemy dashed on, but barely gave us time to reach the inside of the works before they were repulsed. The Seventh Connecticut, under Colonel Rodman, led the attacking party. It behaved gallantly, not only upon this occasion, but likewise at Fort Pulaski, and was never known to flinch anywhere". The commanding general announced: "The Seventh has covered itself with glory".

Captain Chamberlain, whose brother, Abiram Chamberlain, became Governor of Connecticut in 1902, had been a classmate of Garfield at Williams, and throughout his life won the deserved admiration and affection of all who knew him. It may be added here, that in 1900 his sword was returned to his widow by the widow of Captain Chichester, to whom he surrendered it. But at that time, there was nothing but grim captivity for the prisoners, who were hurried off to Columbia's horrors. Of the eleven officers who went into the action, four returned; of one hundred and ninety-one privates, eighty-eight came back. The Seventh could not be called on again at once.

A week later, another attack by Stevenson's Brigade, Terry's Division, was made, again unsuccessfully, but valorously. The Tenth Connecticut was engaged at the close, although on account of exhausting preliminary service, it was not sent to the front.

Then it befell that the David and Jonathan of that regiment, Henry Clay Trumbull, whose faithful and inspired ministrations had made him an almost ideal chaplain, and

Adjutant Henry Camp (afterwards Major), a man of loftiest purity and courage—went forth together to aid the wounded men who lay dying on the sandy battle-field without a helping hand to drag them from the advancing tide. Trusting to a temporary armistice, they went about their errand of mercy in perfect unconsciousness of risk. Walking up to address a group of officers, they were promptly called on to surrender. No explanations or appeals to the truce availed. It was evidently regarded by the Confederates as a providence that so stalwart, fine-looking men should fall into their hands. The friends were blindfolded, led past the works into Charleston, and in a short time rejoined, at Columbia, Captain Chamberlain and the captured officers of the Seventh.

The persistent attacks of Terry on Fort Wagner ended in its evacuation on Sept. 7, 1863; and one more vantage point was gained. The command of the Tenth then fell on Major (now General Greeley); an able officer, under whom the regiment reached a high state of discipline and efficiency. Its work in the trenches that summer was so trying that when the fort was taken, sixty per cent. of the Tenth was on the sick list.

The saddest pages of the history of the war tell the story of the suffering of our men in Southern prisons. Perhaps nothing more significant could be said than that the survivors shuddered at the remembrance, and to their dying day shrank from recalling those months of misery. The experiences of Chaplain Trumbell and Adjutant Camp have been vividly portrayed in that war-classic, "The Knightly Soldier". None brought more philosophy to the task of enduring insult and deprivation than they; but even between

the lines of forced cheerfulness, it is easy to read the undertones of the struggle with hunger, cold, and neglect.

Of the Southern prisons, Libby was preferred by the captives, because it had at least a roof to shelter them from the weather; and Andersonville achieved the most infamous notoriety. But they were all alike in systematic deprivation of the ordinary requisites of life, such as are granted in all civilized countries to even incarcerated criminals.

At that time, about thirty officers were kept in Columbia jail, the extensive prison pens outside the town not having been made until later. Among them were Captain Chamberlain and Adjutant Camp, besides Chaplain Trumbull, who, after having had jail-fever, was so fortunate as to be exchanged. The other two laid a skilful plan for escape by crawling through a hole in the chimney into a shed. They were in light marching order, and with all that had to be omitted, the comb, tooth-brush, and family photographs were retained!

For a week they kept their anxious northern course, sleeping in concealment afforded by upturned trees, or by sitting on a rail in a fence corner, with no shelter from drenching rain but the rubber blanket. They learned to subsist on very slender meals, and to their strained nerves, gray coats lurked behind every bush, and footfalls and voices were heard in the stillness of the night. After several days of concealment, tramping by night through swamps and woods, of fording ice-cold rivers, of bewilderment as to route, they fell into the hands of their pursuers, who had been out with hounds after them; and the rush for liberty had failed.

They were taken to a private house for safe-keeping that night; and after months of privation, were ready to thoroughly enjoy the abundant meal that the family was about to

eat. "Beefsteak, ham and eggs, griddle cakes, hot biscuits and fresh butter, wheat coffee, all in great abundance were there". Both these officers were of unusually fine personal appearance, and the little girl of the family, who used, like most Southern children, the negro dialect, announced that she "didn't tink the Yankees was dat good-lookin' ".

Animated discussions of the war filled the evening. Captain Chamberlain's gift of ready eloquence won many compliments, and the evident importance of the prisoners gave them fairly good treatment, and called for four guards to watch their slumbers on the feather-bed. The next day they were lashed to their horses, and taken to a jail, where they were thrown into a cell filthy and repulsive in the extreme, the furniture consisting of a pile of rags and pitcher; while crowds hurried to jeer at them through the grating. From there, bound and tied together, they were taken back to the scene of their former captivity, having been absent a little more than a week. Their experience was perhaps more than ordinarily fortunate, although they failed in their object. Many were the other attempts to escape, some men even trying three times.

Adjutant Camp was afterwards sent to Libby. For him, as for others, anxious friends at home tried to alleviate the situation by sending money and boxes. For some time the Confederates refused to allow U. S. greenbacks to be passed; but that reluctance was finally overcome by the conspicuous advantage of possessing the despised currency.

Whenever the privilege of buying food was allowed, there was a chance of prolonging life. The boxes were always searched, and many of their contents were appropriated before the prisoners saw them; and delivery was often effected by tearing and punching the covers, pouring on the floor

apple sauce, shoe blacking, sugar and clothing in a mass. The officers fared a little better than the enlisted men; but when their home supplies were exhausted they too "had to depend on the prison corn bread, regardless of the mice baked whole in it".

Adjutant Camp, after some months, was exchanged, was promoted to be major, and did good service in his regiment in Terry's Corps. He was instantly killed while leading his men in a fruitless charge before Richmond. Before his body could be recovered, the enemy, as was seen by wounded men lying near, stripped it of money, papers, watch, sword, pistols, even his regatta ring, and his outer clothing. The diary was afterwards returned by the courtesy of a Southern officer. So passed another noble Connecticut man, having won his fame in a few intense years.

For the fighting chaplain of the Tenth, Henry Clay Trumbull, whose lion heart took him, with his rifle, into every battle where the bullets flew thickest, the officers, supported by General Terry, asked the rank of major by brevet. They pleaded that one who had never failed to play the part of a staff officer deserved the honor; but the War Department shuddered at the precedent, and refused. Dr. Trumbull's active and beneficent life did not end till December, 1903.

It was not until March 1865, in the last days of the Confederacy, that Captain Chamberlain was released, having spent nearly half the period of the war in prison. This may have preserved a valuable life for a long career of usefulness and honor as Judge and State Treasurer.

The details of the life led by the captured enlisted men in Macon, Andersonville, Florence, Columbia, Belle Isle, are heart-rending, and we shrink from them, although we ought not to avoid the bare recital of those sufferings which our

soldiers experienced in grim reality, while they were patiently waiting for the day of exchange, which for many, came only under the hand and seal of death. To those who saw the haggard and emaciated wrecks of humanity who were returned to the North, it was superfluous to adduce proof that they had been starved; but besides that, there is abundant testimony.

As the last years of the Confederacy came, there was undoubtedly a scarcity of some articles like coffee; but plain rations and small hardly excused their being raw or infested with vermin. In Macon, a pint or half-pint of meal a day, a half-teacupful of rice or the same of beans, a teaspoonful of salt, three or four ounces of bacon, always maggoty and decayed, with two exceptions, were given. At the Roper Hospital Prison, in Charleston, the exact rations for ten days were two and one-third quarts of corn meal, two quarts of rice, five pints of corn meal, five pints of black beans, bad, four ounces daily of beef or bacon. A party of prisoners was known one Thursday noon to have had only five ounces of bread since Monday morning; and how much longer the fast continued was problematic.

At Charleston an ounce of bacon was given but once a day for a week, and after that, none; for sixty hours they had not a morsel to eat, and the yard in which they were kept was so flooded with water that the prisoners could neither lie down nor do any cooking in rainy weather. At Savannah, in spite of fetid water, the prisoners were treated better than in any other place, because the keepers gave them tents and cooking utensils, and a fair supply of provisions.

At Columbia the enlisted men were turned into an open field like a drove of cattle to pass the winter, without any shelter whatever, without cooking utensils, axes, spades, or

any implements, many without shoes, and with little clothing.

With all efforts to excuse such shortcomings, it is difficult to understand why, in a country abounding in trees, it was necessary to refuse wood for cooking or for a roof over the heads of the prisoners; or to give a just reason for the establishment of a dead line beyond which none might pass even inadvertently and live; or for the general order worded as follows:—"Any soldier killing a Federal soldier approaching the dead line shall receive a furlough of sixty days; while for wounding one, he shall receive a furlough for thirty days"; or for the famous order No. 13 of General Winder, wherein he commanded the officers in charge of the artillery to open their batteries, loaded with grape shot, as soon as the Federals approached within seven miles, and to continue the slaughter till every prisoner was exterminated; and the mining of Libby Prison by the keeper, Turner, with the avowed determination to blow every man to atoms if there should be any effort to rescue the prisoners.

The account given by Andrew J. Spring of Collinsville, who escaped, is interesting. He says: "Before Stoneman's raid, the rebels had a chain-gang in the stockade, made up of such as had attempted to escape. Thirteen poor fellows were chained together by the ankles in a line on one side; each man having a 32-pound ball attached by a chain to the leg. A short chain ran from one leg to the other, giving each man a step of eight inches. On the other leg, every fourth man had a 64-pound ball chained to his leg. When the gang moved, each man carried his 32-pounder on one side; and on the other side a rod was run through rings in the balls, and four men carried each of the 64-pounders. And so the poor soldiers were kept, day after day—lugging the terrible

weight of iron with which they were encumbered. This chain-gang was released when Stoneman was making his raid; the rebels not caring to have that General find such an evidence of barbarity in case he surprised them at Andersonville".

With vegetables abounding in the summer all around, men were allowed to perish of scurvy, without even taking them to a hospital. Deliberate planning to kill defenseless men in cold blood is not in accord with the northern ideas of chivalry. Whatever mistakes of policy or generalship the North may have made, she treated the Southern prisoners of war so well, housing them in comfortable buildings erected for the purpose, that they returned to their army decidedly recuperated by their enforced absence. So, too, it is difficult to see the need of crowding men into box cars, so that they could neither sit nor lie down during long trips, taken under such circumstances that in some instances many died from starvation on the journey, and on one occasion a man who was on the top froze to death.

With the virtues and the influence ascribed to Lee, why did he refrain from using that influence to prevent such barbarities as these? A single order from him would have put a roof over the heads of thousands of suffering men, and would have put a stop to the dead-line and the chain-gang. Through these horrors, thousands of Connecticut men passed; less than one-half surviving the ordeal. Yet they were patient and we have their word that to a man, they would have died rather than harm the interests of the cause.

In March 1864, the little army of sixteen hundred under General Wessels of the regular army, a Connecticut man, was attacked at Wilmington by General Hoke with an army of twelve thousand, assisted by the ram Albemarle. After three

days of obstinate defense, and as obstinate attack, the little force had to yield to literally overwhelming numbers; and in that way the Sixteenth Connecticut lost four hundred and thirty-six men, of whom many were captured. "Fort Pillow was re-enacted." The negroes were stripped of their clothing, lined up, and then shot down. The white prisoners were crowded into box-cars, and sent to Andersonville, to Macon, and to other prison pens.

One-half of the captives of the Sixteenth died in prison. Not one could be induced to take the oath of allegiance to the Confederacy. Company H had been detailed for other duty, and thus escaping capture, and being reinforced by a few men who had been on the sick list, or had escaped from prison, carried the name of the Sixteenth through the war.

On the day of Mr. Lincoln's second inauguration, the prisoners were exchanged, having lacked only a few days of a year of captivity. Sometimes the return of their released ones was made quite a gala affair, as, when the survivors of the Sixteenth reached the Cape Fear River, and the United States flag, they were greeted by the Sixth, which was encamped on the hither side of the river, and had built a handsome arbor on the end of the pontoon bridge, and in an arch of evergreens, placed the words "Welcome, Brothers".

More dreary was the return of the prisoners from the Fifteenth, which had been overcome after a gallant defense against superior numbers at Kinston. Their hardships were not so long as those of the Sixteenth, but Major Osborne and other wounded ones died from the exposure. At one place, after being in open cars all day, they were put for the night in an open field, and were not allowed to go to the spring to get water. While they were discussing the point, some rebel

prisoners returning from the North arrived and insisted that our men should have the water. On April 2d, 1865, they were sent to within four miles of our lines. Here, at nightfall, they were left on the roadside. Those who were able to walk took up the others in blankets and struggled through the mud and rain till they finally reached our pickets and the dear old flag. What thought might come with such a sight of the Stars and Stripes was told by Captain, then Judge, Chamberlain, many years after, at a flag-raising in New Britain. He was one of those of whom he spoke.

"On the 3d day of March, 1865, at Wilmington, N. C., I saw, as they came into our lines, several thousand Union soldiers, paroled prisoners of war. Many were ragged and hungry, many of them had been prisoners for months, some even for years. Day after day, they had seen the sun rise and set, but the splendid scenery of the sky brought no dayspring into their hearts. At night they had watched the procession of the stars, but of the stars none brought hope to them save one, and that the north star which nightly came and stood over their homes. That brought to their hearts hope and joy. During all those months they had seen no flag, save the flag which to them represented treason, upon which they had been compelled to gaze. But now they were free, and stood once more upon their country's soil, over which floated their country's flag. Gray-headed men, ragged and hungry, waited not for nourishment of the body, but seized the old flag and kissed it as a mother kisses her babe. What did that flag represent to them? It stood for their country. It was to them a comprehensive picture in which were the portraits of all whom they loved at home. . . . Boys, I want you to love that flag. I want you so to live that when

From the Painting by Nast

John Lodge

you go forth from beneath those stars you shall dwell among the stars that are above".

Such feelings animated the men of the Sixteenth who were captured at Plymouth. Surely we can never forget the story of the Sixteenth Connecticut. Hear it in the words of one of the principal actors. . . . "When every hope of escape was destroyed, the color guard tore each flag from the staff, and strips torn into shreds were distributed among the members of the regiment, and concealed in various ways through weary days of their imprisonment. In 1879, as many of these remnants as could be obtained from the survivors of the regiment were gathered and made up in the shield surmounted by an eagle, which has been sewn upon a white silk banner trimmed with gold fringe, and bearing in letters of gold the inscription:

'Antietam, Edenton Road, Nansemond, Fredericksburg, Siege of Suffolk, Plymouth' ".

Oh, faithful hearts! Can our words enhance the glory of your deeds?

As the plans of Grant and Sherman were gradually worked out, and the troops were massed near Richmond, many of the Connecticut regiments were transferred from the Gulf to Virginia; and in all the fierce and prolonged struggles of that memorable campaign, bore an honorable part. Disease, as in other places, carried off more victims than actual battles, but the losses in battle were fearful.

It was in that desperate Virginia campaign that we lost the "lion-hearted" General Sedgwick. A true son of the Litchfield County hills, he had shown the sterling virtues of a Christian and a soldier at every step of his career; at West Point, in the Indian and Mexican Wars, and at the turning-point in 1861, when he refused to follow brother officers out

of the Union. He succeeded Robert E. Lee as Colonel of the Fourth Cavalry, Regular Army, and from that time had a national reputation, rising quickly to be Major-General. His kindness and modesty endeared him to all who knew him, while the whole army was proud of his soldierly qualities. He was selected to storm the heights of Fredericksburg; he was carried almost lifeless off the field at Antietam, after fighting like a hero; his intrepidity and coolness saved us at Fair Oaks; he had twice refused the command of the Army of the Potomac and was defying danger at Spottsylvania when he fell, shot through the head. He was a worthy descendant of his Revolutionary ancestor, quick, energetic, self-sacrificing, and in the words of a war-historian, "the army felt it could better have afforded to sacrifice the best division". At his burial among his native hills in Cornwall, from the darkening sky came the last volley in a thunder-peal! and the mourning thousands gathered there felt that the nation had parted with one of its best generals, Connecticut with one of her most illustrious sons.

At Spottsylvania, North Anna, Drewry's Bluff, Cold Harbor, Deep Bottom, Deep Run, in the Wilderness, in the trenches, on the picket line, in rain and mud, in cold and hunger, the Army of the Potomac gave its best. The First Cavalry, the Second Heavy Artillery, the Eighth, the Eleventh, the Fourteenth, the Eighteenth, the Twenty-First, were concerned in almost every battle during that fighting winter.

It was before Petersburg that a chance shot inflicted a mortal wound on Colonel Griffin A. Stedman, a man whom Hartford was proud to call hers. A gentleman and a soldier in every fiber of his being, he had won the love of his men, the praise of his superiors, had kept his pure spirit so unsullied

that his influence was a shining light; and he died greatly lamented, on the day which brought his brevet as brigadier-general.

The list of precious lives lost grew sadly long, too long to give the names of all.

The Confederate army was intrenched at Petersburg and Richmond behind thirty miles of almost impenetrable works. In the Northern councils it was felt that there must be no more dallying, and that every blow must tell. One port was still in control of the Confederates, and afforded an open door for the export of their one commodity, cotton, and for the ingress of munitions of war. With it, the contest might be dragged on indefinitely; without it, it must certainly cease from lack of support. This port was Wilmington, and Fort Fisher was its guardian. The works were deemed impregnable by their makers and were likened to the world-renowned ones of Sevastopol. Fort Fisher must be taken. But Butler's effort to storm it was a conspicuous failure, for reasons not to be discussed here. Who could be found to lower the flag of Fort Fisher?

General Grant's choice fell on General Terry, a choice justified by his career. His courage, self-control, and wisdom had been proved again and again. On Morris Island, in the James River campaign with its constant fighting, and under Hancock, at Deep Bottom, Terry, with the Tenth Division, comprising the Sixth, Seventh, Tenth, and Rockwell's Battery, had driven the enemy again and again. In the fighting through April and May, 1864, his division lost thirteen hundred men, and the corps commander reported "three assaults made on General Terry's front, each having been repulsed handsomely". Among other marked actions, he had distinguished himself by leading an assault on the main line of

the enemy's works; and at Fussell's Mills he had won especial commendation for carrying the fortifications, and capturing about three hundred prisoners and six battle-flags. The grim Secretary of War had accompanied his brevet for Major-General of Volunteers with a personal letter explaining that only the fact that the legal number of Major-Generals was full prevented his receiving the full rank.

Terry took, with slight additions, the same troops which had been selected for the first attempt under Butler; the Sixth, Seventh, and Tenth. The compliment was obvious. Vessels to the number of one hundred and fifty had been collected from all parts to swell the naval force, which was called the mightiest that had ever assembled in America. Admiral Porter, on the whole our greatest naval commander, had come from the West, after two years of success, in order to conduct the naval part of the enterprise. In spite of the Hatteras gales of midwinter, the fleet and army carried out their combined operations with complete success. The vigor and experience of Hoke, the rebel commander, had served him well many times, and he was stronger in numbers than Terry. But both Union commanders were resolved on victory, and they acted in perfect harmony.

General Terry left nothing undone that vigilance could suggest. For seventy-two hours he was without sleep, every moment being occupied in preparation,—in disembarking his command, in deciding on the best line of defense for his rear across from the sea to the Cape Fear River, in a minute reconnoissance of the fort, in arranging with Admiral Porter for harmonious action in attack, and finally in making the assault.

It had been questioned whether the armament of a fleet could reduce fortifications so strong as those of the fort; but

Alfred H. Terry

so accurate was the firing from the boats that there was a terrible demolition of the elaborate defenses. The little army of tried veterans, intrenching itself at every forward move, each brigade taking the place left by the preceding one, gradually reached the parapet. The attention of the garrison was successfully diverted by the assault of a detachment of marines and blue-jackets, so that while Hoke congratulated himself on repulsing what he thought to be the main attack, he had the unpleasant surprise of finding Terry's advancing columns bearing their colors over his works. Bitter was the contest; again and again did both sides return to the charge; but at last the stronghold was ours, with nineteen hundred prisoners, forty-four heavy guns, and many field pieces.

The complete success of plans so well laid and executed was hailed with enthusiasm by the government and the people. Admiral Porter for the third time received by name the thanks of Congress, and General Terry, "the hero of Fort Fisher", was congratulated in personal letters from Stanton, Grant, and the President. Secretary Stanton stopped at Cape Fear River in returning from Sherman's camp, and assured Terry that he would recommend him for brigadier-general in the regular army; Grant seconded this strongly, and Mr. Lincoln used his power extraordinary to add, in this special instance, one to the legal number of major-generals in the Volunteers, by appointing Alfred H. Terry a Provisional Major-General of Volunteers. The war afforded no other instance of this. Not only was this exception made in his honor, but he was the solitary instance of an officer of volunteers being made a brigadier-general of the regular army.

The taking of Fort Fisher was one of the complete achievements of the war; and it was accomplished in great measure by Connecticut troops, led by a Connecticut general, in co-

operation with a great admiral who expressed his unqualified satisfaction with his military coadjutor. Terry's war career was crowned by being promoted to brevet Major-General U. S. A., on account of his success on the left bank of the Cape Fear River in February 1865. He commanded the Tenth Corps in co-operation with Sherman at Goldsboro, and helped to secure the surrender of Joseph E. Johnston.

The great conflict was hastening to a close; and in the last historic scene at Appomattox, Connecticut troops played no unimportant part.

The First Connecticut Cavalry had a remarkable record during a service of nearly four years, beginning as a battalion of four companies, and ending as a full regiment: 1361 men had been on its rolls. In spite of being on provost duty in Baltimore for fourteen months, it had participated in eighty-eight engagements and had won an enviable reputation. Of the twelve medals given by Congress to Connecticut soldiers for bravery, three were assigned to members of this regiment. As a part of Sheridan's renowned cavalry, first in Wilson's, then in Custer's Division, as foot, horse, or artillery, behind or in front of intrenchments, it was always ready to fight with spirit in the way most to the purpose. It was in the fore-front of the wild rides, the desperate charges, the hardships, the hair-breadth escapes, which make the story of Sheridan forever thrilling. The valley of the Shenandoah became a favorite fighting ground. Five times at Winchester, four times at Cedar Creek, twice at Newmarket, and once at Five Forks, did its sabres flash. And at last, in Sheridan's well-placed squadrons, it helped to cut off Lee's last chance of retreat. On that historic April 9th, the regiment was proud to have its colonel, Whitaker, then Custer's chief of staff, selected to go within the lines with the returning Confederate

flag of truce, to confer with Longstreet, acting for Lee; and its glory was crowned on the same day by being detailed as the guard for General Grant when he went to receive the momentous surrender.

"The Fourteenth, under Colonel Moore, was hard by, within sight of the memorable house; the Second Artillery, under Colonel James Hubbard, was with the Sixth Corps, a short distance north; and the Tenth was a mile away west, where it had helped to resist and turn back the desperate charge of Gordon."

In the meantime, Terry and Schofield had united their corps with Sherman's army at Goldsboro; and the Fifth and Twentieth were in advance in entering Smithfield in the pursuit of Johnston, and were present when that General surrendered.

The murder of Lincoln, whose urgent counsels for leniency to the vanquished were reflected in Grant's celebrated terms, cast its black shadow over the rejoicing of the North. Governor Buckingham, whose proclamations, worthy to be war classics, had followed the vicissitudes of the conflict in calling the State to days of fasting and supplication as well as of thanksgiving, had the sad duty of summoning his people to lament our first martyr President.

In the great review at Washington, when, day after day, there was the ceaseless tramp of veteran battalions, and the waving of tattered battle-flags, eloquent of the hard-won victory, the Connecticut regiments honored the State once more by their splendid discipline.

About these regiments there was an individuality such as clings to persons. There were the "marching Fifth", that had tramped farther than any other Connecticut regiment, and had been with Sherman in his stately march to the sea;

the Sixth and Seventh, twins in danger and honor, and scarred from charges on Carolina forts; the Eighth and Eleventh, linked in similar honorable companionship; the Tenth, with its "splendid reputation" and long list of twenty-seven engagements, from Roanoke to the fierce contest at Fort Gregg which gained the key of the situation one week before Appomattox; the Ninth, that with the Twelfth and Thirteenth led the return pursuit after "Sheridan's ride"; the Thirteenth, too, with such a reputation for discipline that it was to be kept on provost duty in Georgia for more than a year after the close of hostilities; the "fighting Fourteenth", that had been in thirty-four battles and skirmishes, breaking the record for the State,—that had never lost a color, but had captured flags and prisoners in great numbers; the Fifteenth, that had had a worse onslaught from yellow fever than from rebel batteries, and yet had survived to show its valor at Kinston; the Sixteenth, the unfortunate, patient, heroic Sixteenth, guarding the sacred relics of its flag; the Seventeenth, that had been literally mowed down at Chancellorsville and Gettysburg; the Eighteenth, that had fought such odds at Winchester; the Twentieth, that had stood unflinchingly for seven hours on the front of the line at Gettysburg; the nine months' regiments, with their glorious Louisianian record; the Twenty-Ninth and Thirtieth, with the dusky skins that marked them for certain butchery in case of defeat; the First Artillery, called by the great artillery officer, General Barry, "unrivalled in the armies of the United States"; the Second Artillery, made up of Litchfield County's sons, of which General Terry said that there might be a better, but he had never seen it; the First Cavalry, with battle-flags covered with laurels plucked in Virginian valleys —each one had led its own life and made its own name, and

yet had been an important part of the victorious army of the Union. Whether digging intrenchments, enduring captivity, or charging batteries, they worked together for the same cause and shared the same glory.

In the oft-quoted words of Croffut, the military historian of the State:—

"The first great martyrs of the war—Ellsworth, Winthrop, Ward, and Lyon—were of Connecticut stock. A Connecticut general, with Connecticut regiments, opened the battle of Bull Run, and closed it; and a Connecticut regiment was marshaled in front of the farm-house at Appomattox, when Lee surrenderd to a soldier of Connecticut blood. A Connecticut flag first displaced the palmetto upon the soil of South Carolina; a Connecticut flag was first planted in Mississippi; a Connecticut flag was first unfurled before New Orleans. Upon the reclaimed walls of Pulaski, Donelson, Macon, Jackson, St. Philip, Morgan, Wagner, Sumter, Fisher, our State left its ineffaceable mark. The sons of Connecticut followed the illustrious grandson of Connecticut, as he swung his army with amazing momentum, from the fastnesses of Tennessee to the Confederacy's vital center. At Antietam, Gettysburg, and in all the fierce campaigns of Virginia, our soldiers won crimson glories; and at Port Hudson, they were the very first and readiest in that valiant little band—every man a Winkelried, resolved to gather the shafts of flame into their bosoms to make a path for Liberty to tread. On the banks of every river of the South, and in the battle smoke of every contested ridge and mountain-peak, the sons of Connecticut have stood and patiently struggled. In every ransomed State we have a holy acre on which the storm has left its emerald waves".

The value of a volunteer army had been settled for all time

in the United States, by the four years of experience. Governor Buckingham, in his Proclamation for a Thanksgiving, spoke truly when he said:—"The Fourth of July, 1865, will witness a nation preserved from the powers of an aristocracy of wealth and class combined for its disintegration. Through the courage, endurance, and undaunted bravery of a volunteer soldiery democracy has triumphed".

The total expense of the war to the State, not including private contributions nor indirect loss, both very great, was $6,623,580.60, with a grand list in 1864 of $276,086,457. Of the cities, New Haven spent most, and Hartford next; of the counties, Hartford most, and New Haven next; and the generosity of the small towns and villages was fairly heroic. The population of Connecticut during that war was 461,000, of whom 80,000 were voters. From this number, she sent to the army 54,882, distributed among twenty-eight regiments of infantry, two regiments and three batteries of artillery, one regiment and one squadron of cavalry. The First Squadron of Cavalry, in spite of promises to the contrary, was included in the New York Harris Light Cavalry, and, officers and privates, was credited to New York's quota. This enumeration does not take into account our contribution to the navy, nor the large numbers of citizens of the State, who, in the first outburst of zeal, enlisted in the regiments of other States because their own regiments were full, or for various other reasons.

When reduced to three-years' terms, the number sent from the State is equivalent to 48,181 three years' men, 6,698 more than her quota, and nearly equaling the number of able-bodied men, 50,000, on her militia rolls in 1861.

Of the regiments, the First Heavy Artillery was longest in the service, four years and four months; the Thirteenth

Infantry next, four years and three months; and the Eighth and Eleventh next, four years and two months, and four years and one month.

Countless numbers of able and noted officers of all ranks, in the service of other States, were originally Connecticut citizens; and of the generals of the armies of the country, fifty-two were actual residents of the State at the time.

These bodies of men were well equipped, and, owing to the Governor's rare discrimination, were well commanded; and gained for themselves and the State a reputation for orderly, trustworthy, cleanly behavior, and unexcelled courage, that still lingers in pleasant memories among the veterans of other States. This account has indicated that the blue flag was usually expected to be first on the enemy's ramparts, and last in covering a retreat; and that it seldom disappointed expectations.

Of these volunteers, the number of killed, wounded, and missing, and dying of disease, was 20,573, (209 of these being officers), more than two-fifths of the voters of the State. Besides this tragic loss, there was the uncounted number of those who returned to their homes to die after a few months, or to drag out some years with health permanently impaired by wounds, disease, captivity, or exposure. It may be said that an irreparable injury was wrought by the destruction in the prime of life of two-fifths of the voters of the State, many of them the very flower of her sons; but they gave their lives willingly, and "though dead", they speak to us in tones of eloquence that should carry never-dying lessons of their devotion, their patriotism, and their courage.

Succeeding generations enjoy the blessings which they fought to preserve; and surely the debt of gratitude ought

to be paid with ever increasing admiration and veneration for that glorious patriotism which has shed on their State undying glory.

CHAPTER IV

At the Close of the War

DURING the latter part of the war, the melancholy fraternity of croakers had not ceased to utter dismal forebodings that the country, even if it did barely survive the shock and losses of the conflict, would succumb to the flood of returning soldiers, who, accustomed to a roving and adventurous life, would be loath to take up the homely tasks left by them in 1861. But, like the melting of snow in the spring, the change was accomplished almost invisibly, and the body of veterans gladly and quietly settled back into the old life.

For many men, places were waiting; and the few lazy ones were out of sight in the crowds who wanted to work. Two significant items appear in the post-bellum records of the New Haven Soldier's Aid Society, which was ready to help the returning soldier when stranded on the home shore; one item, the loan of seven dollars to a veteran, "to buy a workbench", and the other, after a short interval, to credit him with returning the money. With him, "Business had been resumed at the old stand".

While the politicians at Washington were wearying themselves with the mistakes and perplexities of Johnson's administration, the rank and file turned with assiduity to the vast opportunities for business that were presented by the new state of affairs. It is a truism to say that the Civil War began a new era; it is indeed hard to find any department of activity in this country which has not derived fresh impetus and new developments, if not origin itself, from the war.

The grand scale on which public affairs were necessarily conducted during the conflict enlarged the scope of industry; and the ideas of the organizers of industrial undertakings were correspondingly expanded. The prodigious waste

of the largest army of modern times involved correspondingly enormous production to replace the loss; duties were high, and accordingly the existing manufacturing establishments blossomed into unparalleled activity. Moreover, many of modest nature suddenly found themselves summoned to the front rank by the pressure of events.

It required no special insight to see that the makers of guns, large and small, of powder and shot, would have to work day and night to fill orders; that competition would strain every inventor's brain to devise some extra touch of death-dealing potency, as the rifling of cannon, the intricacy of compound shells, the best form of marine armor; but who would have thought that the meek and spinster-like occupation of making thread would assume importance in time of war? Yet so it was: tents, uniforms, overcoats, shoes, saddles, must all be stitched with thread of the best quality. Perhaps the article would be thrown away on the next battlefield, and then it must be replaced. English thread was under a heavy duty; hence Willimantic thread-mills waxed mighty. So too the demand for brass buttons stimulated the button-making industry of Waterbury, Ansonia, and Naugatuck; and the need of good, strong saddle buckles gave a reason for the extension of the establishment of North & Judd in New Britain, which has now the most complete equipment for the production of saddlery hardware in the United States, and has expanded its business to fully forty times its power in 1861. This is only one of the many instances of the productive energy excited by the great war; instances so numerous that they went far towards compensating for the appalling waste of force and material which was an immediate result evident to every one.

With the horizon of opportunity so much widened, not

only did men feel the courage to undertake great enterprises, public and private, but they cultivated the patience necessary for finding out the possibilities of small things.

It was a time when money was abundant, and it was easy to learn to spend it lavishly. What had been luxuries became necessities, and the very fact that men lived with added comfort increased the labor involved in living, and gave opportunity for ever-widening varieties of occupation.

If the working man could afford to have a house warmed and lighted throughout, the makers of heaters, of gas-fixtures, of door and window hinges and fastenings, could enlarge their borders; if the poor man's wife could wear better clothes than before, then the makers of knit goods, of silks and of all textile fabrics, were justified in bestirring themselves to tempt her to buy articles of home production; if the poor man's son could have a higher education than his father had had, if the poor man's daughter could play the piano, then the makers of school-books and pianos found their business increasing rapidly.

The manufacturers of carpets, of knit goods, of builders' hardware, of brass and silver-plated ware, of cutlery, of watches, who had been satisfied with a snug little business in the forties and fifties, now found themselves managing hundreds of workmen and making money hand over hand. The need of water for extinguishing fires inspired the building of reservoirs and artificial lakes, from which water could be supplied for public and private use; and it was not long before the comfort of running water was regarded as a necessity in every dwelling, and the reign of the plumber came in.

While Congress was struggling with the great problems of reconstruction, of the Constitutional Amendments, of the impeachment of Johnson, State politics presented no burning

questions for some years, and the citizens were free to devote themselves to the steady upbuilding of material prosperity. Like a hive of busy bees, the State hummed with industry, and grew rich by the labor of her busy workers, who transmuted the crude material brought from all parts of the world into treasures of commerce.

After Buckingham resigned the office of Governor, the popular enthusiasm for military men demanded that the honor should be given to one who had come from the field with the smoke of battle still clinging to him. It was a graceful act of Henry B. Harrison to make the way clear for General Joseph R. Hawley, by definitely and voluntarily declining to be a candidate. General Hawley, it will be remembered, had been the first in Hartford to volunteer, and he had fought bravely at Fort Wagner, James Island, Pocotaligo, Olustee, Richmond, and Petersburg. He had been the military governor at Wilmington, North Carolina, and Terry's Chief of Staff at Richmond.

Always a favorite in his State, and especially in his own county, he was elected, and served in 1866-67 with ability and acceptance. It was afterwards, when taking the chair to preside over the convention which nominated Grant, that he made the often-quoted speech against repudiation, that every bond must be held as sacred as a soldier's grave. Governor Hawley was sent to Congress in 1872 and 1873, and has represented the State with distinction in the Senate since 1881.

The next turn of the political wheel gave the Democrats a chance at the helm, with James E. English as governor for two years. Governor English had helped to make the New Haven Clock Company (once the Jerome Company) one of the largest clock-making companies in the country, and had

been identified in banking and other interests in the business community. He had been a Member of Congress in 1861-65 and was one of the "War Democrats" who were stanch supporters of the Union. He voted enthusiastically for the Fourteenth Amendment, at some personal inconvenience, declaring that to have missed it would have been to miss the opportunity of his life.

The two parties in the State played shuttlecock for a few years, Marshall Jewell of Hartford and James English alternating in the Governor's chair twice. Jewell, one of the firm which stands at the very head of makers of leather beltings, was a man who placed a broad construction on advisable means of acquiring political power; but he was also most scrupulous in administering that power faithfully and for the good of the State, and thus made an efficient Governor. In 1870 he lost his election, English coming in, and in turn going out in 1871 in favor of Jewell, who was then elected for two successive years.

During the two terms of Governor English, he gave much attention to free public schools, which he strongly advocated. In 1870 the Connecticut Industrial School for Girls was opened, sixty-six pupils being received during the first year. This school has done a good work; arrangements being made whereby the time is divided between instruction in ordinary studies, and in the practical duties of cooking, sewing and housework.

Governor English shared a very general interest in schools, in fact, the decade ending in 1871 saw greater gifts to education in the State than any fifty years before. On all sides appeared convenient and costly buildings for educational institutions—libraries, museums, laboratories, observatories; and gifts for endowments were made freely by rich men to their

favorite schools and colleges. Besides the public schools and the eleemosynary institutions, Yale, Trinity and Wesleyan Colleges felt the benefit of this happy fashion of giving large gifts. During that decade, Trinity received an increase of endowment amounting to $126,000; Wesleyan had a gift of $500,000, and Yale's donations and bequests mounted up to $1,695,437. In all these institutions the scope of their activity has increased still faster than their endowments, so that relatively to their work they are poor.

The great success of the Sanitary and Christian Commissions had shown what could be accomplished by systematic charitable effort; and consequently hospitals, Homes for Vagrant Children, Orphan Asylums, Insane Asylums, and all kinds of philanthropic institutions sprang up or were rapidly developed from small previous beginnings. The Hartford Hospital was greatly enlarged, and was started on a career of increased activity; and the New Haven Hospital, a much older institution, which had done a great work as an army hospital for Connecticut soldiers during the war, was also provided with greater means of doing good.

Public spirit found an expression in works of beauty and utility like parks and water-works for cities and towns. Picturesque and accessible tracts of land could be easily found in all parts of the beautiful State, sometimes commanding noble views of the Sound or of the hills and rivers; and having been acquired by gift or purchase, they quickly became charming pleasure-places for the people, stimulating a love of Nature, offering fresh air and repose, and cultivating civic pride.

During the second term of Governor English, the State was convulsed by the choice of a single capitol; and it was decided that one capitol was enough for the little State, and

that that one should be Hartford. Thus New Haven, after one hundred and seventy-four years of sharing the dignity of the seat of government, was bereft of that honor. The discussion of this question, which began in 1869, originating in the dissatisfaction of the Legislature with the old and inadequate state-houses in both capitals, was very vigorous, and the struggle evoked many heated words from both sides. It was even suggested to say good-bye to both time-honored cities, and pitch the tents of government in entirely new fields. But the central situation of Hartford, combined with the large sums of money pledged for a new state-house, placed the coveted prize in her grasp. In 1871 the city authorized the issuing of bonds for buying land and building. This involved changes for Trinity College, too: for the ground which it had always occupied, being especially eligible for the new capitol, was twice sought by the city and twice refused by the college; but was at last sold for $600,000, a sum which enabled the college to secure land and erect fine buildings at some distance outside of the city. In 1873, Jewell's third year of office, the seat of government was definitely removed to Hartford, and the new building was occupied. It is the treasure-house of the State archives, of an exceedingly valuable and useful library of laws and law-books, and reports, of the precious and interesting gallery of portraits of the Governors, from the colonial times to the present, of a large chair carved from the trunk of the Charter Oak, and of the sacred battle-flags of the State regiments during the Civil War, which, in all the pomp of Battle-Flag Day, were deposited there with their pitiful and glorious rents and stains.

The cost of the new capitol with its grounds far exceeded the original estimate, but after the agony of discussion and

decision was over, and heart-burnings as to choice of place and plan had been cooled, after the opponents of a dome on a Gothic building had decided to forget the anachronism and enjoy it as a picturesque landmark, with the glint of its golden cap gleaming over hill and dale for many miles, the State settled down to a feeling of pride in a capitol that was worthy of it, and in its matchless position as the crown of the ever-charming introduction to Hartford, Bushnell Park.

The capitol and Bushnell Park, with its graceful undulations, its trees numbering one hundred and fifty kinds, and the fine arch of the Soldiers' Monument, have made the approach to Hartford by rail one of the most attractive in the country, quite different from the ordinary depressing trip through slums with which the traveler is ushered into less favored cities.

Again the parties changed places, and Charles R. Ingersoll, the Democratic candidate, was elected. He was in office for three years and nine months, the last three months of his fourth year, having been cut off by a change of the time of inauguration from April to January. Mr. Ingersoll declined a renomination in 1876, but served in that year as Presidential elector for Tilden.

The year of his inauguration was the beginning of the great financial depression which affected the whole civilized world for eleven years, business not being firmly re-established till 1885. Its shadow consequently lay over the years when Richard D. Hubbard, Charles B. Andrews, and Hobart B. Bigelow were governors, the parties dividing power pretty evenly.

There had been panics and financial crises before this. The baleful effect of that of 1857 extended over the world, and was keenly felt in this country even at the outbreak of

the Civil War. This was partly owing to the speculation which followed the discovery of gold in California. Gold speculation started the famous "Black Friday", Sept. 23, 1869, a panic on Wall Street so acute that its name is synonymous with financial ruin. But the economic disturbance beginning in 1873 was industrial rather than financial; and it laid its blight on all classes. So long-continued a stagnation of business, extending all over the world, has never been known, and the United States House of Representatives was aroused to appoint a commission to inquire into the cause of it.

In the numerous discussions of this financial phenomenon, many explanations have been offered:—over-production, inflation of prices, the hasty extension of railroads over great stretches of new country, the Franco-German war of 1871, with its consequent heavy indemnity paid by France, the great increase in wages—all have been urgently presented as determining causes; but probably these were accompaniments or tokens of a deeper cause, which is found in the great change in the routes and habits of commerce which followed the opening of the Suez Canal.

Before that, the long voyage around the Cape made the great storage warehouses in England necessary, providing employment for an army of men, and causing London to be the centre of the world's commerce. After the opening of the Suez Canal, these complicated arrangements were dispensed with, and cargoes could be ordered directly from India or Australia. Thus many men were displaced. Again, steamships that had only begun their career suddenly became out of date and had to be replaced by new ones, because their engines were supplanted by the new compound marine engines; and as invention was urging on improvement all

the time, those were quickly cast aside; and thus an unusual amount of good material, representing much capital, was no better than scrap-iron in an unexpectedly short time. The ease with which grain could be brought to Europe from the East affected the grain market of the United States. Other causes contributed to the general upsetting of the old conditions of trade; the opening of new lands in Australia, Canada, and the West, the cheap production and use of Bessemer steel for rails and compound marine engines, thereby making transportation very cheap and leading to too much building of railroads and too hasty development of lands in the West. According to the *London Economist* this financial disturbance "changed the employment of millions of capital and thousands of men".

In the United States, the trouble was augmented by the general expansion of prices, wages, style of living, and the prevalence of strikes. After prices had steadily risen in 1870, 1871, and 1872, there was a sudden drop in 1873. The crisis began on Sept. 17, 1873, by the failure of an unimportant railroad, the New York and Oswego Midland. On the next day came the crash of the great banking house of Jay Cooke & Co., which, on the 19th, toppled over, the house of Fisk & Hatch, the London house of McCulloch, and seventeen other banking houses, like a row of ninepins.

After that, nothing could avert widespread disaster; and for four years, failures continued in melancholy succession, till the aggregate loss was counted at $775,865,000. On Jan. 1, 1875, the American railroad bonds in default amounted to over $789,000,000.

The pinch was sharpest in the most highly civilized parts of the world, in communities whose leading interests were the production of the comforts and conveniences of modern life,

as railroads, ships, clothing, and, through means of transportation, live stock and coal.

The fluctuations of pig-iron kept the world in a fever. In 1872, so great was the demand for it that forty new blast furnaces were built. It sold in Philadelphia, in January 1871, for $30.50 a ton; and in September of the same year, for $53. The sudden fall in 1874 was severely felt in the United States, and its production decreased until 1879, when the output was increased; but prices dropped to a point lower than at any day since colonial times. In 1879, prospects began to brighten; and on account of good crops at home and poor ones abroad, the leading maangers of railroads felt sufficiently sure of an increase in their business to order materials containing iron and steel.

At one time and another during this period, many mining and manufacturing establishments, eight per cent. of the whole in the United States, were quite idle, communicating a depressing influence to the whole country. All this was keenly felt by those concerned in the manufacture of articles from iron and steel, and therefore Connecticut was a sharer in the trouble; but it is a highly creditable proof of the vitality and vigor of her business institutions that she did not suffer disproportionately, and emerged from the struggle without material harm or change. Some companies betrayed a weak spot in resources or management, and could not stand the strain, but most of them came through nobly. The fact that most of the large establishments in the State had been toughened, so to speak, by the vicissitudes of many years, and had all the advantages of a long experience, was of great value in sustaining them through the long and trying ordeal. Perhaps the reaction from the rash, abnormal investment of capital in machinery and transportation agen-

cies from 1869 to 1873 was a salutary lesson in restraint and caution, which resulted in solid benefit thereafter.

It is certain that during those years of financial anxiety, Connecticut did not change her character as a leader in industrial and inventive activities, nor did she vary the ordinary peaceful tenor of life. In fact, as is easily perceived, great prosperity and high wages are what give encouragement to ebullitions of discontent.

On the second inauguration of President Grant, he called the ex-Governor, Marshall Jewell, to the cabinet, as Postmaster-General. To the administration of national postal affairs, he took the practical habits of exactness and thoroughness that had made his business career successful. He expected department clerks to keep their hours and serve the United States as faithfully as if they were working for him personally; strange as it may seem, that was not what some people in Washington wished to have; and their feeling was expressed by Senator Chandler in his famous exclamation that "Jewell was running the Post Office like a factory"! In the light of recent Post-Office investigations, it seems not improbable that a continuance of the despised "factory" methods would have been advantageous for the country, and also for the reputation of some Post-Office officials!

When Mr. Jewell was ungraciously excused from further service, the feeling of the State was expressed in a reception which still lingers in memory as one of unsurpassed enthusiasm. Party differences were dropped in the universal desire to prove that the prophet had honor in his own country, and to give unmistakable approval to the able and faithful son of the State in a hearty and magnificent welcome home.

CHAPTER V

Revisions of the General Statutes

SINCE the famous constitution of 1818 was adopted, revisions have occurred at intervals of a few years; although the first, that of 1821, was in force for a quarter of a century. In 1835, references to judicial decisions were printed for the first time; and some years afterwards, the Secretary began to publish separately the Private Acts, which in 1870 had accumulated to six volumes.

The districts were rearranged in 1842; and in 1847, a commission consisting of Governor Dutton, Judge Waldo, and Francis Fellowes, was appointed to make a new revision, known as that of 1849; and the first and second named gentlemen, with David B. Booth, served again in the same way in 1864. This revision was known as that of 1865.

Before many years had passed, the need of another revision was felt, and another commission was appointed to make a new revision, with a view to classifying, consolidating, and supplying omissions and giving notes and references according to its judgment. Many ancient titles which had become obsolete, as Concerning Slavery, Taverners, and the like, were left out; many penalties and fines were changed because inadequate or expressed in antiquated terms; and by careful condensation, the whole mass of statutes was abridged to a volume little larger than the previous one. This was the revision of 1875.

Important amendments were made soon after. In 1875, the date of the State election was set back from April to November, beginning in 1876. It was for this reason, as has been said, that Governor Ingersoll's last term of office was shortened. A corresponding change was made in the terms of the members of the General Assembly, and in the sessions of that body. A needed reform was made in 1877, when mar-

ried women were placed on an equality with men in the right to own and dispose of property.

Any effort to increase the number of representatives was repressed by an amendment providing that neither a new nor a parent town could send a representative if, after dividing, the population of each fell below twenty-five hundred. In 1639 that would have rightly seemed oppressive; but altered conditions imposed new interpretations of the law of liberty. Very properly, the word "white" was stricken out in describing classes of the population. Counties and cities were forbidden to subscribe to or purchase the stock of any corporation. A "specific appropriation" bill was passed, which directed that for every appropriation specific estimates must be made.

So long ago as 1856, the terms of the judges of the Supreme Court and the Superior Court were reduced from "good behavior" to eight years. This was in order to prevent the long continuance in office of undesirable judges; but it did not forbid the reappointment of those who were satisfactory. However, as the right of appointment belonged to the General Assembly, there was opportunity for hasty if not corrupt action in the game of political grab; and a step in the right direction was made when, in 1880, the power of nomination passed to the Governor, the General Assembly still "appointing" the men whom he nominated. This most salutary constitutional amendment secured a calmer and presumably wiser choice than was always obtained by the other way; and the resulting benefit was so obvious to the upholders of a pure judiciary that a successful effort was made in 1901 to place also in the Governor's hands the power of nominating the judges of the Courts of Common Pleas and of the Dis-

trict Court of Waterbury, such nominees to be appointed by the Legislature.

Moreover, another improvement has been made by lengthening the terms of the judges of the inferior courts. Judges can hardly dwell in the ideal atmosphere of judicial calm if their equilibrium and position itself are liable to be disturbed by the vacillations of political parties and the fear of losing a re-election. One of the most priceless safeguards of our institutions is the upright and impartial character of judges; and all legislative vigilance which tends to preserve that safeguard in its integrity is encouraging for the commonwealth.

In 1884, one more important constitutional amendment was passed, making the State elections biennial, with a consequent extension of the Governor's term and the omission of the session of the Legislature on alternate years. These changes have not been made without much discussion between men of conservative and radical tendencies of thought. Perhaps they are the best proof that life is not dormant in the old constitution which has been the pride of the State; for the law of life is change.

The completion of the first century of our national existence was an epoch in the history of the United States in more ways than one; for the Exposition of the World's Industries which was held at Philadelphia in celebration of the anniversary was a turning point in the esthetic and the industrial life of the people, and consequently, in their application of art to industry.

Up to that time, individuals of wealth and taste were obliged to procure house-furnishings of all descriptions from foreign markets, if they were anxious to satisfy their ideas of grace and propriety; the masses, blissfully ignorant, rejoiced in the unfortunate specimens of "home-production" which

now often cause us to blush in the retrospect; and the few who were afflicted with small purses and grand ideas were forced to resign themselves to unsatisfied yearnings. But when the gates of Fairmount Park were open, with the treasures of the world displayed within, and all loyal Americans hastened to the "Centennial" which was the absorbing interest of the summer of 1876, there was a revelation of the possibilities of beauty in everyday things. People saw the folly of the old way of sneering at "antique Greek patterns" as unpractical, and they learned that the moderns as well as the ancients could apply the principles of beauty, and simplicity, and fitness to objects of daily use, without detracting from their worth. In fact, they quickly perceived, by the enthusiasm for Italian majolica and Venetian glass, for Japanese and Chinese carving and bronzes, for the models of English country-houses with their esthetic but inexpensive furnishings, that there was a real money-value in good taste.

The inhabitants of the United States could justly consider themselves in the front rank as to ingenuity and skill in labor-saving devices, in agricultural implements, in wonderful machines and firearms; and still admit that they were neglecting the business advantage to be derived from the gracious art of pleasing; and they foresaw that the time would come when neither quickness nor cheapness of production, not even durability, would insure profitable sales if the wares lacked attractiveness.

With the usual American adaptiveness, the lesson was taken to heart; and coincident with the demand for "high art" in chairs and tables and lamps and wall-paper and plates and glasses, came the establishment of schools of industrial art, and the supply of tasteful products of American manufacture designed by American students. The field of industry

was at once widened in proportion to the rapid cultivation of taste, and capital and labor united in saying it was well. Probably no world's fair, excepting the famous first one of 1851, has made so decided and lasting an impression on the nation within whose borders it was held, as that of 1876.

And it was the occasion of untold happiness to the crowds that surged through Fairmount Park all through the bright summer and autumn days. It may seem now like archaic simplicity to close the gates at six o'clock, to know nothing of the fascination of the Midway; but to almost all the visitors, the scenes had the merit and charm of novelty, affording fresh ideas at every turn.

The fair had, too, the delightful flavor of patriotic fervor: women had organized and worked for it all over the land with something of the zeal that had inspired them during the Sanitary Commission days; and it seemed to put the seal not only on our stability as a nation, but on the reality of our return to the paths of peace.

Connecticut's display of corn, wheat, oats, of forest-trees, of the resources of the mines, could easily be surpassed by other States; her fruits ripened too late to find a place for exhibition; her silks were not then the webs of beauty that they now are: but she could point with pardonable pride to her Colt's revolvers, her Winchester repeating rifles and carbines, her Hotchkiss and Gatling guns, to her Yale locks, her Isham combination locks and unrivalled table-cutlery, to her sewing-machines, unsurpassed in number and excellence, to her axes and other edge-tools recognized wherever men clear the forest or open new soil as the best in the world, and to her high rank in the realm of iron-manufacture.

She could tell the world to look at steel rails reduced in a few years from $150 a ton to $45, and could explain that

even ingenuity in machine-making, and protection of steel would not have accomplished this if a Connecticut man, Alexander Holly, had not taken unbounded pains to introduce the Bessemer process to this country.

She could look with satisfaction on the gleaming products of the electro-plating industry which marked a century's progress from the tin-pails made in Berlin in 1770, and on the triumphs of precision and nicety in machine-making as shown by Pratt & Whitney; and she could listen to the deep tones of the Seth Thomas clock at the east entrance to Machinery Hall,—a clock ten feet high, weighing 7,000 pounds, and with a pendulum weighing 500 pounds, and connecting with twenty-six electric clocks in different buildings.

With equal pride she could turn to the products of the cottom loom and ask what they would have been if her adopted son, Eli Whitney, had not invented the cotton gin; she could call attention to the Blake Stone Breaker, then comparatively new, but now ranked with the great labor-saving and wealth-producing inventions of the world; that too thought out, perfected, and given to the public by another New Haven man, Eli Whitney Blake, a relative and namesake of the first Eli Whitney. Untold good has been accomplished by that efficient means of crushing the hardest rock, so that wherever the foundation of bridges or great buildings are to be laid, railroads are to be stone-ballasted, the pathways of civilized life are to be made, or the mine is to yield its treasures, the Blake stone-breaker is used. Mr. Blake was led to invent this epoch-making machine by the need he saw as he was superintending the macadamizing of a street in New Haven; and his knowledge and scientific skill were exercised to such advantage that the first machine worked with perfect success, and, during the ten years

between 1862 and 1872, the direct saving, computed from the actual working records of the 509 breakers then in use, was $55,560,000. The indirect saving must have been very great, and since that time the Blake Stone Breaker has found its way all over the globe, and has saved almost incredible sums of money, besides relieving men of severe and painfully slow labor.

Connecticut could say, too, that when the right man was wanted to investigate and report the working details of the Vienna Exposition of 1873, another New Haven man was chosen and sent,—William P. Blake, an expert mining engineer, now Director of the Arizona School of Mines, and then thoroughly conversant with the Paris Exposition of 1867, and quite competent to inspect that at Vienna with discrimination and judgment.

And finally she raised her eyes to the official dignitaries of the enterprise, and saw one of her favorite sons, General and ex-Governor Joseph R. Hawley, fulfilling the duties of President of the Centennial Exposition Commission, with honor to his State and satisfaction to all. The Commission, with General Hawley at its head, has thus far held the palm for promptness. On the day specified, buildings and grounds were in complete readiness for the reception of objects to be exhibited, a feat that had not been accomplished at any previous exhibition.

The Commission was so judicious in its action, from the inception of its plans to their fulfillment, that it reflected great credit on itself and on the nation, and has left happy memories for all who were so fortunate as to partake of the benefits of its energy and wisdom.

The Democratic party again placed a Governor in office, Richard D. Hubbard, a man who was a high type of the self-

made man who has been one of our glories. Beginning as a poor boy in Berlin, working his way through Yale, and taking high honors in the class of 1839, continuing his classical and modern studies throughout his busy life, gaining the position, in the words of the "Judicial and Civil History of Connecticut", "not only of the first lawyer in the State but its greatest orator", he put the finishing touch on his career by filling the highest office in the gift of the State with the same ability that he had shown through life.

In the next election, the Democrats, after ten years of ascendency, gave way to the Republicans, and a Litchfield man, Judge Charles B. Andrews, had a plurality of votes. The law then required a majority, and therefore his election went to the General Assembly, according to the constitutional provision, and was duly affirmed.

His life was another example of public and professional success in spite of early obstacles. The son of a country minister, he was graduated with high honors from Amherst, and had acquired a fine reputation for knowledge, clearness, and sagacity as a lawyer when he went into political life; beginning, as have so many other men, with a term in the House of Representatives, where his wisdom as chairman of the Judiciary Committee and leader of the House probably procured his nomination as Governor.

During his term of two years, some notable measures were carried through the Legislature:—one, the amicable adjustment of the boundary between Connecticut and New York, a matter which had been discussed for a century and a half, and was at last settled by a joint commission which brought in a report that was accepted at once by the Legislatures of both States:—and another still more needed and beneficial improvement, the General Practice Act, by which

the procedure in civil action and common law pleadings was greatly simplified and cleared of archaic encumbrances. Some of the ablest lawyers in the State contributed the result of their lifelong experience to this piece of legislation, which marked an epoch in the legal history of the State, has been of marked benefit ever since its adoption, and was most fittingly achieved in a period that had seen three lawyer-Governors in succession.

CHAPTER VI

The Decade from 1880-1890

HOBART B. BIGELOW, the next governor, a Republican, appointed his predecessor, Ex-Governor Andrews, a judge of the Superior Court; and in 1889, Judge Andrews's eminent ability on the Bench and his marked service in shaping the laws of the State were further recognized by Governor Bulkeley in his appointment as Chief-Justice of Connecticut, on the retirement of Chief-Justice Park.

The terms of Governor Bigelow and Governor Waller, the latter a Democrat, were marked by that happy absence of startling events which is said to make no history; although it is often true that under the quiet surface of affairs, forces are gathering for outbreaks that may shake the political foundations of society.

Mr. Bigelow's name will always be remembered for his public spirit in 1876, while Mayor of New Haven, when he supported and urged two important works, of great advantage to the city and indirectly, to the State:—the building of the breakwater in New Haven Harbor, and the opening in that city of East Rock Park, a gem among our many beautiful parks. The breakwater was built at the expense of the U. S. Government, but was planned by Mayor Bigelow, and has contributed greatly to the welfare of the port.

The rocky bluff known as East Rock had been the delight of generations of lovers of climbing and tramping. By gift and purchase, 353 acres were acquired, including the Rock and its surroundings. A charter having been gained in 1880, the generosity of Mr. Henry Farnam at once provided the Farnam Drive, a winding way which, by almost imperceptible effort, leads to the summit, with its glorious view.

Later, the heirs of Ex-Governor English gave the English Drive, and Mr. E. Hayes Trowbridge gave a fine stone

bridge to complete the Trowbridge Drive; so that for seven miles the lover of Nature can wander among dark ravines, rugged precipices, with wild flowers and noble trees on every hand, and charming outlooks over lake and city and Sound at almost every turn.

As the official represenative of Connecticut, Governor Bigelow was present at the Atlanta Cotton Exposition, and it was for him that the famous suit of clothes was made there, evolved from the cotton husk to the finished product of the tailor's art in one day. He never lost an election for which his name was used, and was as discreet and upright in managing public affairs as in attending to the private interests of his great boiler works. After retiring from the Governor's chair, he dropped public life.

His successor, Thomas M. Waller, was a thorough politician, and the story of his life reads like a romance. A poor little Irish waif in New York, beginning to take care of himself by selling some newspapers given to him by a kind stranger, and often glad to use the downy side of the old Tribune Building steps for a bed, having his first sea-voyage as a cabin-boy on a fishing vessel, would hardly have been warranted in looking forward to being a governor of Connecticut and U. S. Consul-General in London. Yet so did he justify the exhortations to all American boys to prepare to be presidents and governors. It seems that the inflated accounts in his journalistic wares prevented him from following the rush to the California gold fields in 1849. He inferred that all the gold would be gone by the time that he arrived on the scene, and so, instead of becoming a youthful '49er, he staid in the East to achieve a reputation as one of the ablest Democratic political leaders of his time.

While he was governor, a suitable recognition of the debt

the State owed to Governor Buckingham was made by placing a statute of him in the Capitol with impressive ceremonies. The sculptor was Olin L. Warner, the cost was $10,000, and $6,000 was appropriated for the ceremonies of unveiling. On that occasion, the two political opponents, Henry B. Harrison and Governor Waller, participated, the latter unveiling the statue and the former being the chairman of the commission for procuring it. After retiring from office, Ex-Governor Waller accepted from President Cleveland an appointment as our Counsel-General in London.

His successor as governor, Henry B. Harrison, had always been identified with the Republican party, having been one of the few who took part in its organization in 1855-56; and he had been the candidate for Lieutenant-Governor in those early days, with Gideon Welles heading the ticket.

In the House, his gifts of oratory marked him from the first; one of his most impressive speeches was that for opening the ballot-box to the colored man. His disinterested action in standing aside to clear the way for Hawley to the governor's chair was a proof of the lofty spirit which animated his unflagging interest in the affairs of the State. In 1873, the discussion of the "one capitol" question had left a certain feeling which again cut him off, as a New Haven man, from being a candidate; but his legal and scholarly ability, combined with his power as an effective orator, made him too important to be spared from political life. In 1883, New Haven had made him her representative to the House, where he presided most ably as speaker. In the next year there was the political landslide which placed the Democratic party in power in Washington, during Cleveland's first term; but, in the State election for governor, Harrison had a plurality, and was elected by the General Assembly, according to the consti-

tution of the State. Governor Harrison made the welfare of the commonwealth his earnest purpose, and for its promotion spared neither labor nor thought, both in private charities and public endeavor.

The Republicans carried the next election, putting in Phineas C. Lounsbury, the New York banker, the successful South Norwalk manufacturer, and resident of Ridgefield, as governor. He had been one of the framers of the rigid "option" laws with regard to temperance, and he gave his influence to the laws which were then made for restraining the running of railroad trains between ten and three o'clock on Sundays in the State. He felt that not only did the inhabitants require a quiet Sunday, but the trainmen needed a little rest. The popular demand for traffic and travel afterwards led to the repeal of this law. An act of the legislature of much more lasting and serious importance is associated with him,—the "Incorrigible Criminal Act", which provides that a criminal convicted for the third time of the same offence shall be sentenced to imprisonment for twenty-five years, which often amounts to a life sentence. Governor Lounsbury and the other promoters of this measure reasoned that repeated offences showed little desire for reformation, and that society ought to be protected from hardened criminals. As a pendant to this, the Reformatory bill was passed in 1896. By this, convicts, after two trials in a reformatory, will be sent back to prison, further efforts to reclaim them being considered useless.

The profound peace that prevailed in the State during the ten years following 1880 gave opportunity for legislation of this kind. The underlying principles of a free government having been long before asserted and incorporated in the constitution, the mass of the inhabitants paid little attention to public affairs, and were well content to have the Governor

and General Assembly perfect the details which tended to fill the gaps in the framework; feeling reasonably secure that from either party good government would be obtained, and rejoicing in the opportunity to pursue their private enterprises unhampered, and to make the state a very hive of money-making industry.

The very fact that the State basked in the sunshine of industrial prosperity made it alluring to the thousands of immigrants, who rushed in on us like a tidal wave. At first almost unnoticed, the army of Swedes and Russians and Poles and Italians, and dwellers from all parts of Europe, came in and followed the advance guard of Irish and Germans that had been in the country for a long time; but with a rather different effect on the commonwealth. At least 50,000 foreigners were added to its population in ten years, according to the census of 1900; the whole foreign-born population of the State amounting in that year to 238,000.

This caused an important change in the character of the inhabitants. The small towns, which had always held the controlling influence, and that a conservative one, in State legislation, lost their standing in population, both relatively and absolutely; for while scores of their ambitious sons went forth to seek wider scope for their energies, thousands of wanderers came to the cities to secure the large wages which had attracted them thither. Then, too, capital no longer sought by preference villages and remote places for establishing great factories, but was often found selecting the large cities or towns. The cheap land and water-power of the country were more than counterbalanced by the facilities for organization and transportation in the cities.

The new-comers, who often came in great companies speaking the same language, and consequently not dependent

on immediate merging with the community for companionship or support, did not quickly become patriotic citizens, did not so readily identify themselves with the citizens of the State as in the old days, when such immigrants went in small groups to some hamlet by a river-side, and grew up with it in its progress towards the dignity and privileges of a town; and the feeling of civic pride in such an adopted home was not easy to cultivate under circumstances so changed. The less such men had done to establish prosperity and preserve liberty, the more loudly were they apt to call for their rights and privileges as American citizens.

For these reasons, while the commonwealth was rising to great industrial importance, new complications were developing; an uncertain and discontested class was increasing, and there was danger that the rural towns, and the cities choked with this foreign element, would drift apart in interests and would lose the desire to work together for the common good; and that they might forget that the old story of the Latin Reader expressed a permanent truth, and that the healthy body politic must have harmony between its different members.

CHAPTER VII

The Administration of Governor Bulkeley

THE first time that the secret ballot law was put in practice in Connecticut was in the State election on Nov. 4, 1890; and undoubtedly, lack of familiarity with the working details of the new system had much to do with the blunders and complications that led to the famous "deadlock," and caused that election to become a historic event in Connecticut annals, and the theme of prolonged and bitter controversy.

For lack of the prescribed popular majority, the previous election of 1888 had gone, according to the provisions of the Constitution of the State, to the General Assembly, which declared the Republican candidate, Morgan G. Bulkeley of Hartford, Governor. In 1890, as in several previous elections, the introduction of the third party, the Prohibitionists, and even, in this instance, of a weak fourth, the Labor party, diverted the few votes that would have made decisive the choice of the people between the two leading parties. This brought about the unfortunate situation in which the commonwealth was placed.

Both the candidates, General Samuel E. Merwin, Republican, and Judge Luzon B. Morris, Democratic, were men of ability and unblemished character. The Democrats claimed a small majority for Morris; the Republicans asserted that a careful examination of the ballots would give a plurality to Merwin. That would take the election to the General Assembly; and as the Democratic majority in the Senate was 5, and the Republican majority in the House 15, the result was a foregone conclusion, if that step were resorted to.

In order to understand the point involved in the controversy, it will be necessary to explain the constitutional provisions out of the differing interpretation of which it arose. Succinctly stated, they were as follows:

At the close of the election in each town, it was the duty of the presiding officer of that town to make out "duplicate lists of the persons voted for and of the number of votes given for each." One of these lists was to be retained in the town, the other was to be transmitted to the Secretary of State prior to the meeting of the General Assembly. The language of the Constitution from this point is as follows:—"A fair list of the persons and number of votes given for each, together with the returns of the presiding officers, shall be by the Treasurer, Secretary, and Comptroller made and laid before the General Assembly then next to be holden on the first day of the Session thereof; and said Assembly shall after examination of the same declare the person whom they shall find to be regularly chosen, and give him notice accordingly. If no person shall have a majority of the whole number of said votes, or if two or more shall have an equal and the greatest number of votes, then said Assembly on the second day of their Session, by joint convention of both houses, shall proceed without debate to choose a Governor from a list of the names of the two persons having the greatest number of votes, or of the names of the persons having an equal and the highest number of votes so returned as aforesaid. The General Assembly shall by law prescribe the manner in which all questions concerning the election of a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined."

It will be noticed that the lists to be sent in by the presiding officers "in each town as above specified," containing "the persons voted for and the number of votes given for each," would be affected in every case by the decisions that the presiding officer might make in admitting or excluding votes according to his view of their legality or otherwise; and it may have been on account of this liability that a statute law of the State

had been passed, requiring these presiding officers to send to the Secretary of State, together with the certificate specified by the Constitution, "another certificate containing among other things enumerated a statement of the number of votes rejected, and the specific causes of their rejection."

These two certificates, constituting "the original returns of the presiding officers," were to be sent in by the Board of Canvassers, together with the "fair list of the votes" provided for by the Constitution, "on the first day of its session, to the General Assembly, which shall declare who are elected to said offices respectively."

When the General Assembly came together in January, 1891, with a Democratic Senate and a Republican House, and a disputed election to be settled by it within the first two days of the session, the conditions for trouble were rife. In accordance with their duty, the Board of Canvassers sent in the "fair list" of votes, and "the original returns of the presiding officers" for their appropriate action. The "fair list," representing the result in each town as declared by the presiding officers, showed with respect to the offices of Governor and Lieutenant-Governor and Secretary of State, a small majority for theDemocratic candidate, and a much larger one for the Democratic Comptroller. As to this official there was no controversy made, and he was declared elected in due form.

With regard to the Governor and the Lieutenant-Governor, the question at once arose between the two houses whether the "fair list" was to be regarded as final and conclusive, or whether the Legislature under its constitutional power of "examination," prior to its declaration of the candidates "regularly chosen," had the right to inquire into the truth of this list in the light of the other returns by the pre-

siding officers, and to take "extrinsic evidence" as to the votes received or rejected, as reported in those returns.

On this question, the two houses were at once in opposition. The Democratic Senate insisted that the "fair list" decisively settled that Mr. Morris was elected by the popular vote; and the Republican House as inexorably insisted on refusing to accept the finding until after its correctness should have been investigated.

It will be seen, by referring back to the section of the Constitution previously quoted, that provision had been made in it for just such a contingency, by the requirement that the "General Assembly shall by law prescribe the manner in which all questions concerning the election of a Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined." Unfortunately, however, this plain requirement had never been complied with, and there was no legal chart or compass to guide the two obstinate contestants into a common understanding. Neither would yield, and the result was that neither Morris nor Merwin was declared elected.

To complicate the matter still farther, the Democrats, both in the House and Senate, insisted that Morris had been elected Governor by the people, and that Mr. Bulkeley, who continued to exercise the duties of the office, had no legal standing in it; and, regarding him as a "usurper," they refused to recognize him as even acting Governor of the State. They therefore refused to concur in the passing of any laws or the performance of any legislative functions which would require his co-operation and approval. This position they insisted on to the end; and the result was that when, after a session of some weeks wasted in a fruitless dispute over the election, the Legislature finally adjourned, it did so without having passed a single law, made a single

appointment to any office, or arranged the slightest provision for meeting the expenses of the State for the two years that must elapse before the next session.

In the meantime, the State had settled down to endure a dogged dispute;—the rest of the country viewed the situation with astonishment and curiosity, indulging in approbation or the reverse according to political sympathies.

A fierce conflict was waged over 126 Republican ballots rejected in Bridgeport on account of certain spots thereon, alleged to have been illegally placed there by the voters. It was afterwards proved, however, and is now universally admitted, that printer's ink, caught by a tiny rough spot, and repeated in exactly the same place on each of the 126 ballots, was alone responsible for the dark and despicable deed of implanting the suspicious mark. The incident certainly gave disproportionate importance to this atom of a commodity which was employed so freely and promiscuously during this stress of affairs without apparently producing great effect.

Along the whole line, the war of words with tongue and pen raged with all the vehemence and bitterness of internecine strife; but the deadlock was as hard to cure as if it were a real political lockjaw. There was no power that could compel the two houses to agree on united action. If they would not go into joint convention, go they would not.

Each appeared to believe itself in the right; and in the heat of the excitement, it was only natural that neither should give up. It was evident that if the General Assembly failed to declare the election, disputed between Morris and Merwin, nothing else could take its place. The Supreme Court declined, as at other times when it had been asked, to interfere

with the Legislature. Its business was to explain, not to make or enforce laws.

But how was the machinery of State government kept in operation? The towns went on with the routine of town life almost automatically. The Democratic Comptroller, as has been said, had been declared elected without question. The minor State officers held over with the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor. The necessary funds for carrying on the State government during the succeeding two years were provided by Governor Bulkeley on his personal responsibility. For this expenditure, the next Legislature reimbursed him.

But necessarily, great inconvenience was caused in many directions by the loss of appropriations to benevolent institutions and public enterprises ordinarily assisted by the State. And at times, the abnormal situation was a serious misfortune; as when a judge of the Superior Court died in office, and, the Legislature refusing to act jointly, the Governor could not present a candidate, so that the vacancy existed for more than a year. Governor Bulkeley had great business responsibilities pressing on him, and his official duty kept him in office against his private wishes.

In 1892, the following year, the question as to by what authority he continued to hold office was taken to the Supreme Court of the State in the *quo warranto* case of Morris vs. Bulkeley. After six weeks of careful consideration, the decision was given by Chief Justice Andrews. It was to the effect that Morris had not proved his alleged majority as a fact; that the General Assembly was entitled to investigate the "returns" of an election; that the Constitution clearly demanded that the result should be declared on the second day after the election, and on no other; that "an election that was not declared was as good as no election at

all;" and that if Morris had not been legally elected, it was the business of Bulkeley to hold in office till his successor was qualified.

Governor Bulkeley managed public affairs very skilfully while they were in this delicate and critical condition, when a blunder would have plunged the State into still greater difficulties. In adjourning the Assembly at the end of two years, he used these significant words:—"The experience of the last two years has demonstrated the law-abiding character of our people, and the strength and stability, under the severest test it has ever sustained, of the constitution and government under which the old commonwealth has existed for so many years." So the long-drawn contest ended; but the wounds were long in healing. In 1892, Judge Morris was elected governor by an unquestioned majority, and peace reigned in the land.

During the deadlock, the ability of the people of the commonwealth to act independently and wisely was proved by their behaviour in regard to the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893. In 1891, the natural time for the General Assembly to appropriate a suitable sum for representing the State at the exposition, it was impossible for the State Board of Trade, which preferred such a request, to get a dollar. There was no lack of personal interest in both houses, but they would not break their self-imposed agreement not to have any joint action, lest they should establish a dangerous precedent. With true Connecticut adaptability, the citizens decided that the lack of a legislative appropriation should not prevent them from arranging for such a share in the great exposition as should "fitly celebrate and show the history, industry, ingenuity, enterprise and progress of the State."

The press was unanimous in urging an appeal to private enterprise; and Governor Bulkeley promptly responded, Feb. 8, 1892, by a letter inviting representatives of all corporations, trades, societies and institutions, as well as individuals who were especially interested ,to meet at the Capitol on Feb. 22, 1892, to provide for a creditable exhibition, and to raise the requisite money by popular subscription, with the hope that such money would be refunded by the next Legislature. The meeting was full and enthusiastic; a committee made provisions for organizing work, and more money than was called for was at once raised by popular subscription. State pride was aroused, and it was soon shown that it would take more than a legislative deadlock to prevent Connecticut from equipping herself for her place among the sisterhood of States.

The Board of World's Fair managers and that of Lady Managers were equally divided between the two leading political parties; and the governor's appointments for them were eminently judicious. The members planned so wisely, and worked so earnestly and harmoniously, that the result of their labors was a lasting credit to the State. They all took part in the imposing dedication ceremonies in October, 1892, accompanying Governor Bulkeley and his staff and escort to Chicago for that purpose. Then it was that the Governor made his reply to objections to admitting the Foot Guard to the procession because a military body would not be appropriate in a civic procession:—"The Foot Guard is as much my escort as my staff. Where I go, they will go. I brought them here for that purpose."

That closed the argument. In the imposing procession of Governors, the Foot Guard, unique in its brilliant and historic uniform which has come down from colonial times,

escorted the superbly mounted Governor, and marched to the music of Colt's Band, amid applause so continuous that it was asked to take the place of honor in the next day's procession.

Thus Connecticut began early to atone for the unavoidable delay in starting at home by the good impression made on the Fair grounds. While lack of space and delay in granting allotments prevented many intending exhibitors from carrying out their plans, and thus much that was interesting in the productions of the State did not appear at all, a vast array was collected, and the crowds who lingered around the costly pavilions with their brilliant displays of silver and steel and brass, of the treasures of the loom in cotton and wool and silk, were evidently satisfied that the Connecticut workmen had not lost his skill, and that Connecticut's share in the charms of the "White City" was quite worthy of her position as one of the old thirteen, as the home of the first joint stock company, and as, in proportion to size, one of the most populous and wealthy States in the Union. Since she has been the leader of the country in patents for a hundred years, it was not strange that three-fourths of the mechanical part of the fair came from her borders. As a detail, it may be said that all the medals for the final awards were sent from Connecticut, where they had been made.

The land of clocks, which had sent the Seth Thomas clock to Philadelphia, could find room for only one now; but that was the Century Clock, from Ansonia, a work of art that had required twelve years and $60,000 for its construction, and was in mechanism the equal of the wonders of the old world. And the Columbia bicycles, in their splendid brass pavilion, outdistanced everything among the thirty-five other exhibits of the "iron donkey", as the African called it. What could have been done without the ponderous "electric traveler"

from Stamford, that, running the length of the building on an overhead track of its own, had lifted from the freight cars and deposited in its own place every part and piece of heavy machinery, handling masses weighing many tons as easily as a child tosses a ball? The sumptuous carriages from New Haven had an added interest from their neighbor in the Transportation Building, the "Nancy Welles wagon", from Hartford, 125 years old, and doubly precious because Nancy Welles was a descendant of Miles Standish.

Far and wide went the story of the legend over the agricultural exhibit, "Connecticut's best crop, her sons and daughters." Of that crop the fine specimens there present were too numerous to be catalogued in the most voluminous report. The grains and grasses showed variety but not quality, as compared with those of the great west; but there was no one to even compete with the State in magnificent working oxen, for nowhere has so much attention been paid to the raising of superior oxen as in Connecticut. Each of the four pairs exhibited took prizes and medals, and won almost extravagant praises from the judges. So, too, in choice Jerseys, she kept her high rank as a dairy State.

To the Forestry Building, she contributed eighty-three specimens of native woods, and six superb pillars, tree trunks, each twenty-five feet high, selected from the forest monarchs of Cornwall and Canaan.

Of minerals and metals, the State has always shown to the man of science a rich and brilliant store, second in variety to Colorado only; but to the promoter of mining syndicates she has been ungracious, and from him she has locked her treasures far behind the bars of difficult and expensive working. Accordingly, she took little space for such products. Her justly famous iron from Salisbury and marble from Canaan

were absent, although she did show blocks of her granite in all its shades of color; and she tantalized the visitor by the flash of almost a hundred gems, exquisitely cut by Tiffany,—tourmalines, garnets, and beryls, golden, aquamarine, blue, canary, and light green,—all from the quarries of S. L. Wilson of New Milford. From these the chief of the department begged some specimens as souvenirs.

Mr. Morris Steinert of New Haven sent his collection of rare old musical instruments, one of the notable collections of the world, and since presented by him to Yale University.

The fair at Philadelphia was a revelation; that at Chicago was the full enjoyment of the results of the lesson. The State houses, with their spacious and even luxurious arrangements, had more ambitious plans than those of 1876, and were regarded as important tokens of prosperity rather than merely as wayside resting-places. Perhaps no "exhibits" from Connecticut redounded more to the credit of the State than the Connecticut House, and the Connecticut Room in the Woman's Building. The former, designed by Warren R. Briggs, a Bridgeport architect; built by a Waterbury firm, Tracy Brothers; of solid woodwork, with real nails and plaster, and furnished with loving care and fastidious taste by ladies who spared no fatigue to secure the loan of choice pieces of antique furniture or characteristic relics, was so thoroughly admirable for its purpose that one of Chicago's best architects said that he had gained more professional inspiration from it than from any other State building; and a practical reward came to architect and builders in important commissions.

No such reward was available for the ladies who so unselfishly and devotedly labored to make the house and its furnishings express the character of the State, past and present.

Three of the rooms were decorated in honor of the three oldest towns, Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford; the first copying on the walls the decoration of the guest room in the Oliver Ellsworth house; the second that of a noted house in which Washington had been entertained; the third having a design in oak leaves in memory of the Charter Oak. In the two parlors were silk hangings given by Colonel Cheney from his silk works; built into two corners were cupboards from old houses; in one room was a fine old mantel lent by Donald G. Mitchell.

The heavy mahogany sideboards, inlaid tables, four post bedsteads, fiddle-backed chairs, the chair in which each President from Washington to Grant had sat, the portraits, china, samplers, the warming-pans, candlesticks, curtains, and valuable relics of all kinds, filled an express car. One of the most praiseworthy achievements of the land of steady habits was that, of all these miscellaneous objects, precious and not to be replaced, fragile by their nature and by age, the only article that was lost was a small reel for winding silk, everything else being returned in absolutely perfect condition to the hands of the owners in Connecticut. It was to this house that all the children of the State turned with glad steps; and thither came great crowds to greet the new chief magistrate, Governor Morris, when he gave his address on Conneciticut Day, crowds that exceeded, according to the local papers, those of any special "day," except that of Chicago.

The Woman's Building was the first so set apart by any government at any exposition; and Connecticut, New York, and Ohio were the three States which had the privilege of decorating and furnishing each a room. The decoration of this Connecticut room, by Miss Elizabeth R. Sheldon of New Haven, was so charming in design and color that it

won instant praise, and eventually an "international reputation" for the artist. In order to have it all the work of woman's hands as well as woman's brain, Miss Sheldon herself strained, colored, and spread three hundred pounds of white lead for painting the frieze. This room was reserved for the use of the Foreign Commissioners, and it was the repository of many especially interesting objects; as the golden nail from Montana and the jeweled hammer from Nebraska that were used in the dedication ceremonies of the Woman's Building. The ladies of New Haven gave the money for a mantel; the Cheney Brothers, the satin damask for its furniture coverings; and it was further beautified by six carved wood panels, a stained-glass window, busts, reliefs, and pictures, all the work of Connecticut women.

In the library was the largest and choicest collection sent by them—their books. There could be seen two hundred books collected from the works of one hundred and fifty women born in the State, and a very interesting volume compiled for the occasion, "Selections from the Writings of Connecticut Women," a limited edition, handsomely bound in a cover designed by a Connecticut woman. They were fortunate in being able to point triumphantly to the works of Mrs. Stowe, undoubtedly the most noted American authoress, and to the unique collection lent by her, of forty-two translations of Uncle Tom's Cabin in as many different languages.

Thus in the fascinating sights of the great exposition our State played an honorable part. Like the rest of the country, she showed great advance in the scope of both labor and luxury since 1876, and it was clear that her progress on her own lines of mechanical arts, of the invention and production of labor-saving machines, and appliances that add to the com-

fort of life, entitled her to a prominent place as an industrial State.

CHAPTER VIII

The Spanish War and the Constitutional Convention

IN 1892, a great wave of enthusiasm carried the State for Cleveland by the same election that placed Judge Morris in the Governor's chair; and the Democratic party was in power again.

For several years the financial depression that affected the country was severely felt in Connecticut, many large and hitherto flourishing manufacturing establishments being unable to pay dividends at all during a large part of the time. Had the trouble been confined to one State or to New England, it might have been possible to apply a remedy or find a compensation more speedy than waiting for the slow motion of underlying forces. During this trying period, O. Vincent Coffin of Middletown was called by a large majority to administer the State government; and in 1896, Lorrin A. Cooke for Governor, and McKinley for President, received a sweeping majority. The rejoicings at the promised return of business prosperity were enthusiastic, and workmen paraded the streets in the utmost good humor at the prospect of having work again. Industry began once more to weave her precious webs, and the State basked in the glow of prosperity; but soon came up the cloud of the Spanish war.

In spite of the conservative policy of both President Cleveland and President McKinley, the friction in Congress over Cuban affairs waxed greater every day; and in 1897, the relations between Spain and the United States became so strained that the country was ready to fly to arms, when the tragic fate of the *Maine,* on February 15, 1898, electrified the world. Diplomatic relations did not end till April 20; but death and war, however clearly their warnings have been given, always seem to find mankind unprepared; and the government was at once plunged into the harassing whirl of

hastily fitting out an army and navy for immediate offensive and defensive measures. The bill introduced by Senator Hawley had added two regiments of artillery to our force; and the navy, having been in the gradual process of invigoration, was better prepared than the army; but an overwhelming amount of work had to be done at short notice.

In doing her part, Connecticut was engaged busily through the spring of 1898, and Governor Cooke had scope for all his administrative ability. The strain was not long, like that of the Civil War, but from the blowing up of the Maine to the sensational victory at Santiago, it was necessary to prepare for the worst; and during the succeeding months there was need of vigilant care of the soldiers in camp.

The response to President McKinley's call for 125,000 volunteers from the country, April 28, was prompt and patriotic. Even before the declaration of war, all the Connecticut State organizations had offered themselves for any duty deemed necessary. Each one of the four regiments begged to be first on the field; but it was decided to make the choice by seniority of colonels; hence the First, Colonel Burdette, was designated. The order called for one light battery and two heavy batteries in addition to this regiment. Under the second call of May 25, the Third Regiment was sent. The First, as a regiment, was mustered into the U. S. Volunteer force, May 18, at Niantic, and became the First Connecticut Regiment U. S. Volunteers. The Third had been the Third Regiment Connecticut National Guard before the war, and has since returned to that designation. The men enlisted for two years unless discharged before. The First Regiment Volunteer Artillery was not a U. S. Volunteer regiment, with the exception of Battery A, Light, which enlisted as a part of the regular army, and was known as the "Yale Battery,"

because a platoon in it—commanded by Lieutenant Herbert T. Weston, one of their number—was mostly composed of young men from Yale University. Of this regiment, Battery B had been infantry before the war, and after its close it returned to that branch of the service. Battery C existed only during the war; but the other batteries have continued as militia organizations. Thus it will be seen that the volunteers served under varying conditions.

In this emergency of hurrying troops into camp, the executive department was greatly hampered by lack of funds. The General Assembly, not then in session, had made a specific appropriation for military purposes in 1897; but had so hedged it about with restrictions that unexpended money had been returned to the State Treasurer. However, a way out of the difficulty was found by appointing a State Board of Control, with the Governor at its head; and that created a fund for purchases. It was resolved to make preparation so complete that the men would be ready for service immediately after being mustered in, rather than to strive to break a record by rushing poorly equipped troops to the front. Some States, in their eagerness, hurried their men into the field with little more than the clothes they wore.

For this reason, our men were sent with cooking outfits, mess outfits, medical stores and a full set of hospital equipments, and to each commissioned officer was given a Colt's revolver. Under the sudden demand for canvas, not a yard could be bought by the State, the War Department asking to borrow or buy the tents already in its possession; and in the utter impossibility of getting new ones, the men were forced to be thankful for the partly worn ones that served to shelter them during a spring remarkable for its watery nature, when

"during twenty-five days it rained with but few intermissions."

The terms under which the members of the National Guard had entered that body were, State militia service for three years, re-enlistment for two, and not more than three months' service outside the State in any one year. As it was not practicable for many of the members, under the call for the war, to give up their occupations permanently, it was necessary to do a good deal of recruiting, which required time. In view of all the difficulties attending the hasty formation of a volunteer army, the Connecticut National Guard did nobly, putting, in a little more than sixty days, over 3,400 men into the hands of the Government, all uniformed, armed, equipped, and ready for service. This number exceeded by 1,148 the quota required.

The regiments were sent to Camp Haven, at Niantic. For young men who were excited with the hope of honor and glory to be won on the field, it was hard to pass the slow months of that summer in the monotonous routine of camp life, when others were in the rush of events at the front; but they were just as truly loyal to duty as if they had been on the picket-line or in the charge. With many there was genuine fear then that the Spanish fleet might pounce on exposed points in the eastern part of the Sound, *en route* for the destruction of New York; and many people went to bed at night prepared to be waked up by the booming of Spanish guns in the morning.

Hence the orders were that the New England troops, with the exception of one State, should protect the home seaboard. We can see now that they might have staid in their own homes as far as danger from Spanish ships was concerned; but hindsight is notoriously better than foresight, and in the

light of the knowledge then available, no other arrangement would have been wise. Three-fourths of the volunteers from the whole country never reached the field; and the Connecticut troops were with the majority, who fretted away the weeks in camp without a chance to even smell the enemy's powder. The few who were in the regular army and the navy were the only Connecticut men who saw real war. The State administration was blamed by some for want of zeal; but the official correspondence shows conclusively that it was not for lack of appeals from Governor Cooke that his troops were not sent to the scene of action. Similar patriotic clamors came to the War Department from the whole country; but in its policy of letting New England guard its own coast it was inflexible.

After the destruction of Cervera's fleet, the First was sent to Camp Alger, Dunn Loring, Virginia; and on Sept. 10, the Third was sent to Camp Meade, Pennsylvania. In these, and other fever-stricken camps, with all their unsanitary conditions, death claimed far more than on tropical battle-fields. Those who died by disease were just as much martyrs to the cause and deserved as much honor as if they had fallen by Mauser bullets. The three officers who died—Lieut. Rodmond V. Beach, at Porto Rico; Lieut. Allan M. Osborn, at his home in New Haven; and Lieut. Philip Fairchild, at Jacksonville—were the victims of fever. Each one had made an enviable record of efficiency and courage and persistence in duty even after disease had grasped him.

Before the war, a naval militia had been organized in the seaboard and lake States, as an auxiliary force in time of need; and it constituted a force of 200 officers and 3,703 men, who, even if not experienced sailors, had some training in seamanship and gunnery. The Naval Battalion of Con-

necticut was full of enthusiasm at the very beginning of the war, and at once volunteered its "full strength for enlistment, 203 men, 18 officers." In early April, the Commander, Edward G. Buckland, had been ordered to make a detail from his battalion to inspect vessels in winter-quarters in the Connecticut harbors, and to select such as could be used as gunboats. The yachts *Embla* and *Huntress* proved to be available for torpedo boats; there were two steel tugs, and some small craft which could be useful as transports; but no probable gunboats were found.

On June 6, the Naval Battalion, 202 in all, was mustered into the U. S. service as a part of the Auxiliary Force. These men all entered the U. S. Navy individually, and were technically regulars and not volunteers. They did not have the satisfaction of serving as an organization, but were scattered in accordance with the orders of the Navy Department, and were discharged individually. The officers and men, who included many already distingushing themselves in the professions, were most rigidly examined, physically and mentally, by a board of naval officers, with very gratifying results. Every officer was recommended by the Board for a commission in the U. S. Navy, and one, who was already noteworthy for diligent application in professional study, had the unique honor of receiving a commission in the navy higher than that which he had held in the Naval Battalion. Owing to lack of vacancies only, the medical officers and the adjutant did not receive their commissions. Most of the rejections among the men were for color-blindness, and not for other incapacity. Many of them spent a dreary summer tied to a Boston wharf on the U. S. S. *Minnesota*. A few of the members of the Battalion were fortunate in gaining appointments on the *Yale* and *Dolphin*, and others were offered positions which

they felt bound to decline on the close of the war—some of them being young men who had college courses to complete.

As is well known, the American liner *Paris* was called by the Government from its peaceful vibrations across the Atlantic in the passenger trade, to the more exciting service of chasing Spanish ships in southern waters; and being rechristened in honor of Connecticut's great university, it enlisted the fervent support of Yale men. With their contributions, raised enthusiastically all over the country, a set of fifty-one naval flags and two fine Maxim cannon at a cost of nearly $6,000 were bought and presented to the god-child of the University.

The result of the war was almost a foregone conclusion. In the words of Maxim:—"The complication of modern implements of destruction gives to the highly scientific and mechanical races a marked advantage over the untrained and unscientific nations;" and it was another version of the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon when he enters into conflict with the Latin.

The total war expense to the State for the year 1898 was $175,648.36. The cost in lives, and health lost and impaired by disease is not so easily estimated.

The women of the State were not caught napping when the alarm of war sounded; and through various relief societies, and especially through the chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution, they rendered hearty and valuable assistance to our soldiers and sailors. From May 25 to October 15, inclusive, through the untiring and well-directed efforts of the State Regent, Mrs. Sara T. Kinney, the contributions from cities, towns, and villages were forwarded to the shipping stations, New Haven, Hartford, New London and Norwalk, and from there were distributed. Some towns con-

tributed largely to hospitals that were situated within their own borders; and besides that, the Connecticut chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution gave the generous sum of $7,158.87. Garments, delicacies, medical supplies, with money for purchasing needed articles on the spot, were forwarded, being comprised in 52 consignments of from six to twelve large packing-cases each. These welcome supplies went to the sick in the different camps and hospitals over the country, besides the hospital ships *Relief* and *Missouri,* and to the U. S. general hospitals at Santiago and Ponce-Porto Rico. The magic wand of prompt and vigorous personal effort by the administrative head of the enterprise wafted these boxes and barrels through unspeakable blockades in transportation agencies, and deposited them, with not one missing, at their various destinations.

The *Mangrove,* Commander Belden, of New London, which went to the assistance of the *Maine* in Havana harbor, and on which the Court of Inquiry was held, was destined to fire the last shots of the war, off Caribarien, Aug. 14, not knowing that hostilities had formally ceased on Aug. 12. The treaty of peace was signed at Paris, Dec. 10, 1898.

Industrial discontent, so formidable elsewhere, crept into the State at times during recent years; but on the whole the next Governor, George E. Lounsbury, and his successors, George D. McLean and Abiram Chamberlain, have had only the problems of peace to solve.

The war over, there was opportunity to consider a remodeling of the State Constitution, which, being cut in the fashion of bygone days, was no longer a comfortable fit for the body politic of the rapidly growing State. So long ago as 1873, Henry B. Harrison had urged in vain that it be revised; and

from that time on, dissatisfaction had been at times loudly expressed.

The changes most urgently desired were equalization of representation, and election of the principal State officers by plurality rather than by a majority. Some steps were taken towards gaining such amendments in 1895, but they were rejected, and were canonized under the name of the "lost amendments." The latter benefit was secured in 1901 by a constitutional amendment; and there will be no more elections by the General Assembly, unless two candidates should have the same and the highest number of votes. And the Senate is to be reapportioned in districts, not less than 24 nor more than 36, more nearly equal than before. But still disproportionate representation in both branches of the Assembly was undeniably open to criticism, and constant irritation in the cities on that account was apparent to every one.

This disproportion was owing to the operation of causes easily perceived, but not to be removed. From a commonwealth chiefly agricultural in its character, Connecticut, through the working of the Hinsdale Joint Stock Act,—framed by Theodore Hinsdale, a Connecticut man,—and through the advantages which she had long offered to business enterprises, had been transformed into a pre-eminently industrial and manufacturing State; and for that reason, her population, much changed in its *personnel,* had become concentrated in a few leading centres, making very great changes in the relative population of cities and small towns.

The fathers, in their horror of a despotic one-man power, had invested the General Assembly with great authority, and had placed many restrictions on the governors, although they were of their own choosing. Now, in the whirligig of time, the cry of danger from an oligarchy was

heard, and the General Assembly was accused of tyrannical intentions. And it was plain that the situation contained much that was unjust.

According to the Constitution, each town that was incorporated before the Revolution was entitled to two representatives;—if not so fortunate, then to one; and no town could have more than two. Hence the oft-quoted, because most glaring, discrepancy between New Haven with its 108,027 inhabitants, and Union, with 428, each being alike represented by two members in the House. Again, among the small towns themselves great inequalities existed—some with large and increasing numbers of inhabitants having only one representative. The number of towns had increased from 120 in 1818 to 168 in 1900.

There was less excuse for the inequality in senatorial districts; for it is not evident that the town representation in the House was originally designed to vary with fluctuations of population; but the senators were especially intended to represent districts equal, as nearly as possible, in population. So far from the original intention had the apportionment drifted that it seemed to have lost all relation to population, one district having ten times the inhabitants of another. In his message of 1901, Governor McLean urged a constitutional amendment to remedy this; but the House rejected the idea, as it had done three times before.

It must be explained that, in order to revise the Constitution, that document provides that such action must be proposed by a majority of the House of Representatives, considered by the next General Assembly, and published with the Public Acts of that body. If, in the next succeeding Assembly, two-thirds of each house shall approve, it shall be put to the vote of the town meetings of the State legally warned.

Then, if voted for by a majority of the voters at such meetings, it becomes a part of the Constitution. This carefully-planned blocking of the wheels of hasty change invested, very wisely, constitutional reform with all the dignity due to solemn deliberation; but, as it was designed to do, it clogged speedy achievement, and many clamored for something more prompt. Of those who supported strictly regular procedure, some advocated an entirely new constitution, others favored an amendment to the old which should embody all the necessary changes.

In despair of securing any action by the slow process judiciously demanded by the Constitution, Governor McLean at length consented to recommend what he had formerly opposed, a call for a convention for making the proposed changes. This proceeding was unconstitutional, but many hailed it as the only way to accomplish the desired end. The convention was accordingly called, and it assembled in Hartford, January 1, 1902.

It was a notable company of picked men, each town sending one delegate, generally its very best citizen, and often representing the harmonious choice of both parties. Of the 168 men composing it, 138 were born in Connecticut. But the longer this carefully chosen body pursued its generally courteous deliberations, the farther from arriving at a result did it seem to be. It was not that they quarreled; it was not that they lacked in earnestness;—the problem of so reconciling all the conflicting interests as to please both the towns with their jealously-guarded rights, and the cities with their urgent masses of newly-made citizens, and yet to offend neither, threatened to rival squaring the circle. The advocates of the cities rushed into the newspapers wtih excited harangues against the fossil despotism of the rural towns, and thereby

the suspicions of the towns were naturally aroused, and they were placed on the defensive.

For four months, comprising fifty-five working days, the convention sat; and during that time, it considered over sixty plans for revision. Of these, the most famous was the "One and sixty," by which the representatives of towns would be reduced to one each, irrespective of population, and the number of senators would be increased to sixty. This idea, although long in dying, aroused the unanimous opposition of the press of the State, backed by public opinion. After untold and wide-spread agitation and suspense, and much curiosity as to the outcome of all this permutation of figures, a plan was approved and at last presented to the people, providing for two representatives for each town of 2,000 inhabitants, and one more for each 5,000 above 50,000, with a Senate of forty-five members, at least two senators to each county. By this, thirty would have been taken from the small towns and twenty-nine would have been added to the large ones.

Alas! like many another compromise, it satisfied very few; and the constitution so revised, when put to the popular vote, was successful only in achieving distinct disapproval, and still worse, contemptuous indifference—the vote of the State being phenomenally small, and over three-fourths of the towns voting against it. The fact that the State refused to accept changes in 1902 does not at all preclude the probability that the vital improvements then demanded will not be gradually and quietly adopted in the ordinary course of affairs; since this has often happened in the legislative history of the State, which prefers progress by slow and sure degrees to impetuous leaps.

Increased ease in the process of making amendments has given encouraging assurance of the possibility of change; and

the State has wisely clung to its old policy of including only vital underlying principles of liberty and justice in the Constitution, and leaving the passing legislation of the day to be embodied in the statutes which do not require a political convulsion to repeal them.

One thing is clear, that the town idea is too firmly interwoven with the warp and woof of the State's history and political temperament to be easily torn out, and that it will long remain a potent and conservative element in the government of the commonwealth.

CHAPTER IX

Local Industries of Modern Times

CONNECTICUT, with her 908,420 inhabitants, takes the fourth rank in population in proportion to area among the States of the Union. Indeed, a glance at the map of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, with its fringe of stations averaging one in every two miles along the Sound, gives a broad hint at dense population. A busy people it is; forced to stimulate the traditional energy of the commonwealth by the modern demands of competition with the whole broad land from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Among the leading industries, shell-fisheries, railroads, agriculture, and manufactures readily present themselves.

The Sound has from the earliest days afforded a tempting and various treasure of fish, and especially of shell-fish. The very abundance of food to be had for the getting from this storehouse of Nature led to reckless extravagance. This inconsiderate plundering of the sea has threatened to reduce the once plenteous lobster to a curiosity in museums worthy to rank with the auk in rarity; but the oyster, menaced on the one hand by pollution of the water, and on the other by the thieves of the sea, animate and inanimate, has been protected as becomes a valuable source of revenue. Oysters are the most important single fishery product of the United States, and their cultivation and sale in Connecticut gives occupation to many men.

In 1880, the late Judge Luzon B. Morris, afterwards Governor, was of notable service to the State in the important settlement of the boundary line between New York and Connecticut in the Sound. It was decided that the middle of that body of water should be the dividing line; and this kept in the jurisdiction of the State, oyster beds of great value. In 1881, the General Assembly established State jurisdiction

over all oyster grounds south of the lines marked by certain headlands, the towns retaining control of the harbors and grounds north of this specified line. An "oyster bed" is defined as "a mound or rock which has been formed by the continuous growth of oysters for a long period of time." Oysters cling to almost any available support, and will cover a cast-off rubber shoe or boot or any other hard object that comes in their way; and they seem to seek with especial favor a spot that bears the shelly tokens of previous bivalve generations. Such a favorite lodgment differs from an oyster-producing ground. Of these State grounds, 66,745 acres were held in 1903, which may be compared with the 27,252 acres cultivated in New York in the same year.

The laws as to holding such property vary in the different States around the Sound. In New York there are two jurisdictions, something as in Conecticut; in some cases the towns owning the grounds, and in others the State. Thus it happens that on the Long Island shore, some grounds can be bought, and fishermen are going over to Greenport to avail themselves of this privilege; in Rhode Island the grounds may be leased; while in other parts of New York,and in Connecticut, the States own the grounds,and grant to cultivators of these submerged farms, not a warranty deed, but a perpetual franchise, subject only to the needs of navigation. The rights of navigation are paramount to those of fisheries; and should a steamboat line desire to build a dock, or the United States Government decide to construct any public work on the best oyster beds on the shore, the oyster man could do nothing but submit. A case in point is that of the New Haven breakwater, which was built directly on one of the most valuable oyster beds in the Sound, to its destruction and the serious loss of the owners.

The oysters taken from the Connecticut grounds to the waters of Narragansett Bay develop so rapidly and favorably that the Connecticut growers pay large sums for leasing grounds from the Rhode Island owners, and yet find themselves repaid for their outlay in rent and transportation. It is the policy of the State to encourage this industry; and nowhere has the artificial rearing of oysters commanded more attention, and been carried to a more successful result, than in Connecticut.

The Connecticut laws for the protection and regulation of shell-fisheries are considered particularly good, and are used as a model by other States. Commissioners are appointed who attend to the proper mapping, staking, buoying, leasing, and surveillance of the oyster-grounds. An important part of the State's oyster business is raising seed oysters for her neighbors, New York, Rhode Island, and New Jersey. For this purpose her grounds are unsurpassed, the great Stratford and Bridgeport natural bed alone having furnished in one year over 400,000 bushels of seed-oysters to the trade. Each year sees more care and science applied to the raising of oysters, and it is probable that before long the clam will be the object of similar solicitude.

There is a tide in the affairs of oyster-men as in those of others. Sometimes there is a year of phenomenal plenty, as in 1899; and then a disheartening period of "bad sets," as during the four years succeeding, when no amount of care prevented disastrous loss of crops in all oyster-producing States. As in every other business, the tendency has been towards consolidation; and a smaller list of owners in one year than another would not necessarily mean a decrease in the number of acres cultivated.

The expense of maintaining this important and valuable

industry increases constantly. The "Early Bird" was the first steamer ever employed in the oyster business; and it was the pioneer of a fleet of more than a hundred steamers now busy in the Connecticut waters, the boats steadily increasing in size and carrying capacity. Besides the State ground-tax, the oyster growers pay taxes on millions of dollars' worth of property along the Sound, from Greenwich to Guilford.

Connecticut's great railroal thoroughfare between New York and Boston, with its principal offices in New Haven, and its ramifications extending over the State as steadily as grow the roots of a tree, render her railroad interests most important.

The other east and west lines have kept pace but haltingly; and now they and all the small roads, with the exception of the New London and Northern, the little South Manchester, and the Ridgefield and New York, have come under the control of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, and have become parts of that powerful system well called the "Consolidated," although the name referred primarily to the consolidation of the New York and New Haven, and the New Haven, Hartford and Springfield roads.

Always very ably managed, and with exceptional opportunities for steady and profitable business, its stock has for years been extremely valuable, while the main line of the road is one of the best built and most completely equipped in the country. Vast sums have been expended on raising, straightening, and stone-ballasting the four-track roadbed, in providing double stations between New York and New Haven, and doing away with grade crossings. The work that has occupied several years at Bridgeport, in elevating and straightening the approach to and passage through that city, is regarded by civil engineers as of almost unparalleled magnitude.

The grand total mileage operated is 4,506 miles; and the mileage within the State, 1,861 miles. That the railroads are an important force in the industry of the State may be seen by the fact that throughout their entire system in 1902-3 they gave occupation to 39,411 men, whose earnings amounted to the snug sum of $23,776,506.76. The gross earnings of the roads for that year were phenomenally large, $48,988,685.72; and even after the enormous expenses had been deducted, and the portion belonging to outside stockholders had been accounted for, a very comfortable sum was left to be distributed throughout the State. Owing to the general flagging of business prosperity since the middle of 1903, and the great increase in the price of coal and in necessary expenditure of all kinds, the receipts have temporarily diminished somewhat, although not to such an extent as on roads in some other parts of the country.

To the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, during the presidency of Mr. Charles P. Clark, is owing the introduction to the country of the famous "third rail," used first on its direct line between Hartford and New Britain, with such satisfaction to the local traveling public that it was adopted on other portions of track belonging to the road.

The street-railway systems, which with the rapidity of the spider have laid their web of nearly six hundred miles of main line over the populous parts of Connecticut, have on modern life an influence which is important now, and possibly may become even more serious in the future. Naturally, they are concentrated around the two cities, Hartford and New Haven, in a thicker network than elsewhere; and it is observable that the desire to stretch out a feeble line to every hamlet that offered a possibility of a real-estate boom has

yielded to earnest improvement of roads and equipment. They afford employment to some thousands of men.

These electric roads have opened communication between the large towns and far-outlying communities that would have seemed like a dream twenty-five years ago. What pleasure they have added to the poor man's holiday, what knowledge of the country they have given to the dwellers in cities, what broadening of ideas from commingling of the urban and the rural inhabitants, is an oft-told tale. One traditional feature of the country is, however, in danger of obliteration. Easy transit accomplished, the end of the country store is at hand. For many generations the theme of the wit and the poet, this "country club" of the village worthies has been a ready meeting-place where they could discuss the affairs of town and nation, could train the future leaders of Congress, and perhaps start the ripple that would roll into some wave of popular feeling.

Already many of these emporiums of village trade and gossip have perished, killed by the grip of the iron rail that so alluringly pointed to the big department stores within the reach of five or ten cents. That means hard times now for the country store-keeper; it may mean a gradual change in the ideas of representatives at Hartford, and in the independence of thought of the country members of the General Assembly.

Railroads of both kinds have passed the time when they could be considered simply as a means of expanding travel and transportation. They have become interwoven with the most serious and far-reaching problems of finance, of politics, and of social science that this century offers. The "Connecticut" method of taxing them and other corporations has excited much discussion, and a similar scheme has been recom-

mended in Pennsylvania by a tax conference, and by the Industrial Commission for the country in general.

Briefly stated, it is that the State taxes should be paid by the corporations. Since 1891, these taxes have been removed from the towns; and the corporations, beginning with railroads, and extending to almost all corporate enterprises, have paid their taxes directly to the State. Railroads are taxed on a valuation equal to the market value of the capital stock and total indebtedness, the railroads of the State paying in 1902-3 a Connecticut State tax of $1,032,173.36. In this way, the corporations pay all the expenses of the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the State government, besides providing a large sum for hospitals, other charitable institutions, and for roads and public works.

There is a certain advantage in this: and moreover, it taxes the real value of the property as nearly as possible; it escapes the difficulties, in regard to interstate commerce of railroads, of a tax on receipts; and it reaches the property which is represented by bonds. On the other hand, it must be admitted that it strengthens the tendency of the smaller towns to let the cities pay all the bills, also that a full State treasury leads to supernumerary officials; and that, in many instances, where the corporation is local in its work and nature, as a street railway, injustice is done by diverting the revenue of the taxes from the community that grants the privileges to that corporation.

It is easy to see that agriculture is no longer of paramount interest in the State; and yet the assertions that occasionally float into the newspapers, setting forth the melancholy abandonment of farmhouses and lands, give a very erroneous impression. In the proper sense, there are no abandoned farms in Connecticut. When they are unoccupied by owners

or tenants, they are still used for various purposes, such as pastures or wood and timber; and they give a sure proof of being owned by having their taxes paid. An amusing story is told of a little book published some years ago by the State Board of Agriculture, giving a list of farms for sale. After a period of comparative obscurity, it was taken up by *Country Life in America* and the *Ladies' Home Journal,* in such fashion that the careless public jumped at the conclusion that, in the astonished author's words, he "had a bargain counter in abandoned farms in Connecticut." Inquiries and requests poured in from all parts of the United States, and from other countries even to such uttermost parts of the earth as Australia and New Zealand, to such an extent that a second and a third edition of the book were required; and at last accounts, the demand was 2,000 in advance of the supply, and the author was ransacking the State for possible sellers of farms to meet this sudden expansion of the real-estate business. Moral: farms still have attractions, and Connecticut is not yet ready to take the place of London Bridge for Macaulay's traveler from New Zealand.

The acknowledged falling off in the profits made by farms, twenty years ago, was in most cases not an actual decrease, but a relative diminution when compared with the great profits of other occupations and with the expansion of living. In fact, very few farms have been run at a loss, if the cost of the support of the family and operation be considered. Since 1890, a decided improvement has been noticed; the area and value of the farms has increased and their products have swelled from $17,000,000 to $28,000,000 in 1900. In 1892, Professor Brewer derived this encouraging conclusion from careful study:—"There is no decline in the number of persons employed in agriculture or in acres tilled. While no crop

stands out pre-eminently, the output is varied and enormous and the value of products per acre is larger than in Indiana, Illinois, or Ohio." Since then, the interest in agriculture has grown, and the farmers have found that the dollars they were looking for might be like the button in the game, hidden very near home. In other words, they are learning to choose their products according to their ability to raise them successfully; and they are studying scientific methods of putting economically the choicest quality on the market. It is a truism to say that the farming of to-day, with its machinery, and scientific study of foods and fertilizers, of drainage and seed-catalogues, is a different thing from that of the early settlers. Much advantage has been gained for the scientific knowledge of the business by the work and published investigations of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station at New Haven, and the Connecticut Agricultural College, founded in 1879 at Storrs. The latter is a little too securely tucked away to give farmers ready access to its work and its dairy-laboratory, the best-equipped in New England.

The butter-making toils of the old New England farmer's wife are now a memory, and science and machinery are made to do the work in numerous well-appointed and remunerative creameries. Since 1846, when John A. Taintor imported twelve of the best cows he could find in the isle of Jersey, Hartford County has been famous for its fine herds.

The Yale School of Forestry, too, has begun to arouse the desired interest in the woodlands of the State, which, not all of the same quality, extend over four-tenths of its area. A "State forest" of nearly seven hundred acres has been purchased recently, in the town of Portland; and there, as well as in various "stations," a State forester is authorized by the forestry act, effective in July 1903, to protect and cultivate

trees for the benefit of the State, and to use it as a "demonstration area" for an example in practical forestry. In addition he is ready to advise private owners as to the thinning and planting, the treatment, propagation, and preservation of woodlands.

The dairy men and poultry-raisers are on the alert; the adaptability of much farm land for beef-raising is discussed; and perhaps the reluctance of the farmers in the northern part of the State to admit sheep to their rocky pastures may yet be overcome. The granite and brown-stone quarries of Canaan and Portland give warning that the farms must not expect a rich harvest when the quarryman does a good business, but the fertile river-valleys and smiling meadows of a large part of the State are just as attractive in their finished cultivation as ever they were.

Tobacco was exported to England from Suffield in 1763; and from that time the town has taken the lead in the State in the raising of that commodity. The Hartford County growers, knowing that, under favorable conditions, they could produce more pounds of their famous "seed-leaf" to the acre than any other part of the country, have been willing to endure disappointments in their fickle crop, to pet it with unwearied care, to shield it even, in these latter days, by acres of snowy screens, from sun and wind and insect pests, all for the sake of the great profits of the good years. The ordinarily good yield gives from 1,800 to 2,000 and even 2,800 pounds per acre, and the prices are sometimes very high.

Fortunately, the soil most favorable for market-gardening lies in convenient proximity to the largest cities, and to the illimitable and never-satisfied market of New York. Consequently, market-gardening thrives. In fact, among a population having a large proportion of consumers, the home

prices compare so favorably with those of the metropolis that there is little need of sending fruits and vegetables over the line.

In some departments of fruit-culture, Connecticut has been very successful. The apple, with its delightful associations, has always found a congenial home here; and as an example of what attainments it can reach, it may be said that from the experimental farms at the Agricultural College there were sent to Glasgow, in 1902, over a hundred cases of fine red apples, which returned double the price they would have received at home.

With all the *éclat* of a new fashion has come the revival of the peach orchard. The peach used to thrive in almost every dooryard in middle and southern Connecticut; and, sixty years ago, was so superabundant that the pigs feasted on the surplus bushels. Then came a long period when misfortune marked it for its own, and blight and yellows and hard winters made Connecticut peaches a rarity. But in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a renewed interest in peach raising was rewarded by remarkable success.

The "peach-king," J. H. Hale of South Glastonbury, has done more than any other man to accomplish this happy result. He had mastered some of the secrets of small-fruit farming, when his eye was caught by some old native seedling peach-trees that were faithfully yielding their fruit in an out-of-the-way spot. The idea flashed through his mind that the peach really liked the plain living of the soil around him; and in 1875, he planted the first commercial peach-orchard in the State. He waited and watched and hoped and was disappointed by four freezing winters in succession, to be at last rewarded by a $9,000 crop of peaches and small fruits from "a farm that tobacco-raisers thought was not good secur-

ity for $2,000!" From that, care in selecting varieties, in cultivating wisely, and in insisting on perfection of individual specimens rather than bulk of crops, have made Connecticut peaches the choicest in the market in their season; and the Hale Brothers are now the owners of the largest peach orchards in the country, over 1,000 acres in Connecticut and Georgia, and over 2,000, including nurseries. The peaches raised by them in the two States are identical in variety, differing in time of ripening only on account of climate. The first great crop of 1885 and 1889 stimulated others to plant largely in the State; and now Connecticut has nearly three million peach-trees in her orchards, and, taking precedence of Delaware, ranks next to Georgia and Maryland among the peach-growing States of the Atlantic coast.

The planting of peaches still goes on, and the actual enumeration of the Experiment Station in 1902 gives 44,000 more trees than the U. S. census of 1900. The growers have learned many practical lessons during the last ten years, and the crop of 1902, a very fine one, was double that of 1892. "New Haven County leads with a total of 218,368 trees, and Hartford County follows with 166,966. Either of these counties has a larger number of trees in peach orchards than was contained in the whole State ten years ago," says the report of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station for 1902.

So much for "intensive farming." The acres of the old State will never produce the huge harvests of the West, but they will not be idle if human ingenuity can devise any means of making them yield an increase.

Good roads are a boon to all classes; the bicycle and automobile have done well if they have enforced the necessity of them on the public mind. Besides the 10,000 miles of con-

necting roads, in the State, there are 5,500 miles of main highways; and during the years between 1896 and 1902, under able superintendence and with a definite plan, the State has given aid to towns on 1,400 miles of the latter, with results that would delight that advocate of good roads, Dr. Bushnell. Nearly every town has accepted the State aid, and the appropriation for roads grows steadily. This may be theoretically wrong, and a loss of town independence, but the traveler rejoices in the excellent thoroughfares.

That the paramount interest in Connecticut is manufacturing needs no argument. In 1902, 187,854 persons, one-fifth of the entire population, were busy in 1690 manufacturing establishments, which gave employment to from five to several thousand persons each. More than anything else, manufactures have felt the tremendous impulse of modern scientific discovery and invention; and each achievement in the laboratory generally heralds an enlargement of some manufacturing plant.

The General Electric Company sprang into existence in 1880, at the house of Mr. Frederick H. Churchill in New Britain; and the present vast development of electric locomotion and appliances would have astounded the sons of James North in 1800, patiently making sleigh-bells and shoebuckles in New Britain, then part of Berlin, finding saddlebags sufficient for their freight to Boston and Albany, and looking to the minister, Dr. Smalley, for their financial backing; or Eli Terry, proud of his advance in 1817 in making clocks by machinery; or Eli Whitney, soothing the smart of his inventor's heart by starting the Whitney Arms Company, in 1798, at Whitneyville, New Haven; but they might well be glad to see now that their insight and energy had descended to their followers and posterity.

For it is very noticeable that not only are the names passed on from father to son and son's sons, sometimes for more than a century, but many if not most of the large manufacturing establishments have the weight and momentum of at least fifty years of existence. The term "manufacturing aristocracy" is not wholly misapplied, for not only are large incomes and vast financial interests handed down in a family, but also an accumulated fitness for the work, familiarity with details, and executive ability; together with a feeling of responsibility for the proper conduct of organized work, fraught as it is with grave meaning to thousands of people; all these descending in a way that corresponds to the inherited duties of great landed proprietors. It is no infrequent thing for the son of a millionaire factory owner to go into the works, begin at the beginning, and work up through the grades like ordinary employees, so that when he comes to the head he may have a personal knowledge of every detail and be able to act intelligently. Often the life of a village is bound up in the prosperity of one great establishment; and while the responsibility is divided in the large towns and cities where factories congregate, yet it is a rare thing to find the consciousness of it entirely absent from the men at the head. With many of these leaders, the "greatest pride in life is the good name of the companies they represent."

So many of these factories have placed themselves in the front rank that space fails to even lightly touch all. Many of them cover large areas, have excellent and well-appointed buildings, and are like villages within themselves, with independent fire departments and watchmen. Some of them have bestowed much thought and expense on the employees out of working hours, providing libraries, comfortable houses, and

the elevating influences of trees and flowers. The aim of very many is to have the works and the products thereof the "best in the world." Hence comes the reputation of the fire-arms and ammunition and bicycles of New Haven and Hartford and Bridgeport, the brass and silver and britannia of Meriden and Waterbury, the table-cutlery, knit goods, and hardware of New Britain, the thread of Willimantic, the silks of South Manchester, and of the long list of foundry and machine-shop products, of rubber goods, carriages, pianos, sewing-machines, paper and wood pulp, needles and pins, textiles, corsets, and fur hats.

In the proportion of production to population, Connecticut stands second in the United States, Rhode Island being first and Massachusetts third. And in nine out of ninety-nine industries mentioned in the census of 1900, brass, hardware, plated and britannia ware, corsets, fur hats, hardware, cutlery, clocks, needles and pins, and ammunition,—she stands first. For such work the wages arehigh, and have tempted crowds of foreign workmen to the State, at the rate of 30,000 for each of the two decades ending in 1900, besides 20,000 in trade and transportation in each of those decades. The capital invested in these enterprises has risen from $120,000,000 in 1880 to $314,000,000 in 1900, a great portion of it being centered in seventeen manufactures. The exports of the State have long been large, in many instances half and sometimes three-quarters of the product of tools and machines being sent abroad.

The census of 1900 sums up the reasons for Connecticut's prominent industrial position thus:—"The pre-eminence of the State in manufactures is due in part to its excellent communication by rail and water with all parts of the country, to its geographical location by which it can handle a large export

trade, to its water-power, to its plentiful supplies of labor and capital, the former gathered easily in the great centres of the East and the latter coming to it not alone from its profitable manufactures, but also from its large insurance and banking interests and its joint-stock laws."

Besides this is the personal factor. In the administration of such industries the utmost perfection of organization is required, so that each worker may fit in his place with the exactness of the pieces of a watch; and fortunately, the State has had men who were suited for commanding such forces; men who, by native and inherited ability for both individual and administrative work, could bring the State to this high rank. Many of them have been highly educated, one well-known head of a powerful establishment keeping up his daily readings of Horace and Homer and Plato during his long and successful business career; some of them are fitted to grapple with almost any legal, financial, or political problem; and the earnestness of such men, even when they may have appeared to make a fetish of work, has been felt by every subaltern.

The remarkable inventive genius that has long been a characteristic of the State has been a cause and an effect of all this industry. In proportion to her population, Connecticut has been and still is at the head of the United States in number of patents, having had in 1902 one patent granted to every 996 persons; the District of Columbia ranking second with one to every 1,063, and New York eighth, with one to every 1,589. For those who are curious in these matters,it has been computed that as the United States leads the world in patents; Connecticut, the United States; and New Britain, the State; it follows that that little city, known as the "Hardware Centre" from its great production in hardware,

"stands at the head of the inventive world." It may be added that the man there residing, Justus Traut, who has taken out the greatest number of patents, many of them small, has never lost money on one.

In the opinion of some, this ability to invent labor-saving devices, and machines that almost think, and so cunningly contrived that one will do the work of dozens of men, is slowly preparing destruction for itself and deterioration in the quality of workmen.

A limit in inventions is conceivable; and it is true that such machines may sometmes be worked by unskilled and therefore cheaper labor, which could thus find places that would have been closed to it in former years, when thinkers were necessary behind each machine. In the words of the *American Steel Worker,* "Competition has made it absolutely necessary that every possible means be taken to reduce the cost of an article without reducing the quality. If by the aid of improved machinery, it is possible to make one operation do the work of four, then there will be a saving." That the skilled and thoughtful mechanic, who has been an object of pride, is in danger of disappearing on account of his own meritorious inventions, is not a pleasant thought, and must be considered with the disquieting questions of strikes and social discontent which have accompanied the great army of foreigners that have invaded our State during the past twenty years,and have sometimes threatened to transform it.

CHAPTER X

The Insurance Interests

IT is almost superfluous to say that Connecticut, and in Connecticut, Hartford, stands pre-eminent in the field of insurance; investigation shows that this reputation has been legitimately earned by the hard work of the able leaders and the application of strict business principles to the development of the science.

Our forefathers neglected to record whether the first risks were marine or fire; but the first partnership for insurance in the State was that of Sanford & Wadsworth, in Hartford, in 1794. These gentlemen undertook to assure the owners of dwellings that they would reimburse any losses by fire to the extent of the sum specified in the policy; and the first policy was issued to William Imlay, of Hartford. The business was practically that of individuals, something like the British Lloyds; and although, from time to time, several of these individuals combined in partnership, their arrangements were short-lived, and did not attain the dignity of formally chartered corporations.

The inventive genius of the State had not then stimulated manufactures; and the two leading occupations, agriculture and commerce, were derived from the land and the water close at hand. Consequently, marine insurance was early an object with those companies. In 1794, John Caldwell advertised to take marine insurance in the name of the Connecticut Insurance Company; in 1795, July 27, he, with Jeremiah Wadsworth, Sanford & Wadsworth, Elias Shipman, and John Morgan, formed a partnership known as the Hartford and New Haven Insurance Company, New Haven being inserted because it was the residence of Elias Shipman; and in 1803 he became president of a company which then obtained a charter as a marine insurance company, and was known as the Hartford Marine Insurance Company

from 1805 until 1825, when it was absorbed in the Protection Fire Insurance Company. The Hartford Fire Insurance Company was established in 1810; and the third of the trio of early fire insurance companies, the Aetna, was organized in 1819.

The marine risks were generally taken for voyages to the West Indies and neighboring islands; sometimes to Charleston, but rarely to Europe. That would have involved superhuman courage. This early marine and fire insurance was individual and personal, generally being of the nature of a private contract. The stipulations as to rate and terms varied according to arrangement each time, likewise the conditions for paying the premiums. Generally, the amount was to be taken from the profit of the voyage. These voyages were often superintended by citizens of position and ability, who went with the ship to attend to the interest of the owners; as in the case of Joel Root of New Haven, who in 1802 sailed on the Huron, of which he was a shareholder, and was absent for three years in an eminently successful voyage around the world.

In such cases, the integrity of the owners was almost assumed by the fact that an insurance policy was granted to them. The country was so small, the inhabitants were so few, and the sway of Puritan principles was so widespread, that it was comparatively easy to restrict policies to men of good reputation. Sometimes a desirable rebate was made in consideration of avoiding a certain port, although the policy often allowed vessels to go to ports other than those of departure and arrival, if circumstances made it necessary. There was a wide variation in the amounts to be paid by the insurers, and the sum was often divided among the partners according to preference and ability. The variety of perils which

were risked was also great;—"perils of seas, of men of war, fires, enemies, pirates, rovers, thieves, jettisons, letters of mart and countermart, surprisals, taking at sea, arrests, restraints, and detainments of all kings, princes, or people of what nation, condition or quality soever; barratry of the master. (unless the assured be the owner of the vessel) and mariners, and all other losses, perils and misfortunes, that have or shall come to the hurt, detriment or damage of the said vessel or any part thereof, for which assurers are legally accountable."

The origin of the insurance interest is thus clearly traceable to the soil and geographical position of the State; the remarkable success and perpetuity of that business and of some of the corporations therefrom upspringing are just as distinctly derived from the character of the notable men who conducted those enterprises in their beginnings.

The pre-eminence of Hartford companies over others is evidently partly owing to the city's position at the head of sloop-navigation, making it a centre of trade for the rich Connecticut valley; to the fact that those companies were started by men of well-known ability, who personally interested themselves in the details of the business, and were also so connected with public affairs that their association with private enterprises was very valuable; and to another fact, that for years it has been easy to establish such companies, because both capital, and men well trained in the business of founding and maintaining such enterprises could be readily secured at once on the spot.

The name of Wadsworth gave significance to the first underwriting firm; for Jeremiah, the son of Daniel who had been a pastor of the First Church, was the father of Daniel whose name still lives in his gifts to Hartford. Jeremiah Wadsworth had taken enough voyages as master to give him

experience valuable in underwriting; he had served as commissary-general of purchases for the Continental and French armies, and had been one of the founders of the Bank of North America in Philadelphia, was a director in the first United States Bank, and was foremost in organizing the Hartford Bank, of which he declined the presidency. His financial reputation was attested by the fact that he was president of the Bank of New York at the urgent advice of Hamilton; his public spirit, by the number of his terms in Congress. His son inherited his fortune, his prestige, his generosity and public spirit, more perhaps than his business enterprise. The Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford is the memorial of the son; for he gave the site (his own home) and a large sum of money for the building, which has become the treasure-house of the city's art and antiquities.

Major John Caldwell was a builder and owner of ships, was largely interested in their cargoes, and held many offices of trust; being sent to the Legislature twenty times, being a member of the commission for building the State-house, one of the founders of the School for the Deaf and Dumb, the first major of the Governor's Horse Guards, and a coadjutor of John Morgan in the building of the bridge across the Connecticut River.

Ezekiel Williams was another prominent man who was a pioneer in insurance. His grandfather's sermons had inspired the first Governor Trumbull; his uncle William Williams was one of the signers; a grand-uncle had served as both preacher and fighter in the Revolutionary War, and also as rector of Yale College.

So, too, Goodwin and Hudson founded the Hartford *Courant,* that admirable journal that since 1764, has dealt out

John Caldwell

news to the State, and promoted good living and good writing.

When men of such character and standing applied themselves personally to the furtherance of a new enterprise, the community was inspired with confidence, and an incalculable momentum was given.

The Protection Fire Insurance Company, which had inherited much from the Hartford, was for many years in the very front rank of Connecticut corporations, and was widely known as the representative of Hartford Insurance Companies. Its first president, William Wolcott Ellsworth, had been the last secretary of the Hartford. The son of the Chief Justice, he carried public responsibility all his life, being Governor four times, and afterwards Judge of the Supreme Court. The secretary, Thomas Clap Perkins, a lawyer of great eminence, was no less a tower of strength to the company.

TheProtection was fortunate in grasping the business of the newly-developed West, at the time when its importance was not appreciated by all. This wise stroke of policy was the work of Ephraim Robins, who made his headquarters in Cincinnati a rallying-place for the leaders of the Whig party, and in other tactful ways so pushed his business that in twenty years he took $3,000,000 in premiums.

Another advantageous innovation of the Protection was sending out a superintendent of agencies. Acting in this capacity Mark Howard, an Englishman who had brought much courage and insight with him to the New World, went out to Saint Louis in 1849, when that city was suffering from the plague of cholera, made more horrible by a devastating fire. Many would have thought it discreet to carry on business at a safe distance from the stricken city; but Mr.

Howard did not flinch a moment, and personally paid the claims of his company and of the Aetna, to the lasting credit of Connecticut insurance. But the capital was insufficient to easily meet some crushing marine losses; and lack of courage to fight disaster, and possibly lack of proper provision for the rainy day, brought the affairs of the Protection to an untimely close in 1854.

The Hartford Fire Insurance Company, founded in 1810, and now the oldest stock insurance company in the United States, was not behind the Hartford in securing a noted man as president; for General Nathaniel Terry was a chief in more ways than one. He was six feet and four inches tall, and was constantly in the forefront of affairs. For long periods each he was mayor, judge, member of Congress. He was connected with the Wadsworth family by marrying Catherine, the daughter of Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth; and the lustre of his name has been made still brighter in later years by his grandson, the hero of Fort Fisher. He remained at the head of the company till 1835.

The Aetna Insurance Company was incorporated in 1819, as a corrective to the indolence of the secretary of the Hartford Fire, who did not manifest that alacrity in securing patrons that may now be often observed. This famous corporation, whose suggestive if not reassuring name is familiar in all parts of our land, was managed with exceeding wisdom from the outset. Caution and enterprise were discreetly mingled in its counsels.

There was abundant courage in seeking business in distant fields and in facing disasters, but much conservatism was observed in details of expenditure. In those days, each risk was discussed by the directors; and when a journey was taken by an officer of the company for its benefit, his home salary

was suspended so long as he was receiving his expenses and a few dollars a day as a remuneration. But this care about details was the foundation of an enviable reputation and resulting prosperity.

It took a long time for insurance boards to learn that they must not divide all the profits at each meeting, but must lay by a reserve fund for the sudden demands of great losses. In the process of learning, many weak companies expired.

The idea of noting the differing results of insuring different classes of buildings or merchandise, and of collecting therefrom a classified list of risks, with a corresponding list of rates and a proportionate security of indemnity to the insured and of profits to the insurers, is said to have originated in the office of the Aetna, where the secretary was requested to keep a blank book in which he should record statistics of fires as they were described in the newspapers, and to give an account of the kind of place and property in each case. This was a long step towards scientific treatment of the business.

In 1834 the Aetna issued the first fire policy in Chicago. It was exhibited in that city as a curiosity till the great fire destroyed it. Much pioneer work was done by those early directors, who traveled over the country in a leisurely way, examining the villages and towns with an eye to insurance prospects, but with a thrifty habit of saving money for the company and thereby for themselves eventually. It is related that Joseph Morgan, the grandfather of J. Pierpont Morgan, performed such a journey, covering over six thousand miles, at an average daily expense, including hotels, of $3.29 a day!

In these cases, the small beginnings seemed to lead to great endings. The Aetna began in 1819 with a capital of $150,-

000. The expenses of the first year, including $225 for the secretary's salary and for rent, reached the alarming total of $451.82. In 1850 the capital was doubled, the assets were $456,327.46, and the liability for losses, $141,544. In 1881 its capital was increased to $4,000,000, making it the largest fire-insurance company in the country. In 1903 its assets had reached the vast sum of $14,949,520.36, with a net surplus of $6,022,803.36, and a surplus to policy-holders of $10,-022,603.36. Such figures speak for themselves of a rare career of deserved success.

The process of making money by fire-insurance presents little monotony, but is full of dramatic crises, and in the case of the famous surviving companies, has afforded opportunity for the display of magnificent business heroism. After each of the great fires which have appalled the country, the important companies rose to the situation grandly.

Far back,in the New York fire of 1835, in the dismay and general fear that the losses were so great that no insurance company could pay them, it was as a messenger of glad tidings that Eliphalet Terry, the president of the Hartford Fire, arrived, having driven with all speed in a sleigh, in freezing weather, from Hartford, brining his secretary, and proceeded to pay in full all losses and to take new insurance. As a result, dividends were omitted for several years; but there was a great reward in future business. On more than one similar occasion did the directors pledge their own fortunes, with the probability of having to redeem their promises.

Ten years later, another disastrous fire burned up $6,000,-000 worth of property in the business centre of New York, and then again the Aetna was a heavy loser. The directors were called together and sat in silence while the president, Thomas K. Brace, unlocked the safe and took out the stocks

and bonds that were all that lay between them and failure. In the graphic words of Mr. Woodward, from whose interesting book much of this information is derived, "The silence was broken by the question, 'Mr. Brace, what will you do?' 'Do?' replied he. 'Go to New York and pay the losses, if it takes every dollar there,' pointing to the packages, 'and my own fortune besides.' 'Good, good,' responded the others, 'We will stand by you with our fortunes also.' " And again honesty proved the best policy.

The company was enterprising in details as well as stanch in principles. Its agent at Cincinnati prepared the first blank proof of loss in 1853; in 1857, it first used outline charts, and indeed in 1819, it had laid down rules for the guidance of its agents, that have been widely recognized as fundamental. Long before the law of the State enforced the rule, the Aetna promoted the reputation of Hartford by fighting out in its own directors' room the question of establishing a reserve fund for reinsuring outstanding risks.

But in that Waterloo for fire insurance companies, the Chicago fire, which swept away even hope for a time, the fidelity of the Hartford companies had its most noted test. Surely, thought the despairing crowds for whom the earth seemed to refuse a shelter, there is none that can deliver us. Imagine the glad relief when the news came that the Hartford Fire, the Aetna, and the Phœnix would pay in full on the spot.

The genial Marshall Jewell, a director of the Phœnix, who, as Governor of Connecticut, Postmaster-General under Grant, and Minister to Russia, saw life in many phases, probably never experienced more fully the pleasure of relieving distress than when, after having, at the request of the company, hastened from Detroit, without stopping even to put

on traveling clothes, he mounted a dry-goods box on what had been a street, and announced to the surging crowd around him that he had been sent to pay in full the claims of the Phœnix Company of Hartford. And he did not wait, but began then and there by paying the full face value of a $10,000 policy properly attested and presented to him, using the top of his silk hat as a desk in writing the check. A placard was soon displayed bearing the glad tidings, and "as the news spread from one to another, the multitude cheered and cried, and laughed by turns." The Phœnix Company lost by this fire more than one and one-half times its capital; but the stockholders paid in $300,000 more, and went on.

A fire which swept over three thousand acres in the heart of a city necessarily inflicted fearful losses on a company like the Aetna. Perhaps the sufferers did not dare to hope for full payment; and indeed, when the home office counted up that total, $3,782,000, it was clear that Hartford shared the disaster with Chicago. According to law, the capital was immediately reduced one-half to match the reduced assets, and was then restored by contributions in cash of $1,500,000. In a year came the Boston fire, which cost the Aetna $1,635,067. This was likewise paid, making in all $5,500,000 expended by the company to keep its name unsullied. The latent heroism that had astonished the world during the war, has been manifested on other fields.

In the Hartford Fire Company the same spirit prevailed. $2,000,000 were needed to cover the Chicago losses, but every one was paid in full, although it was done by heroic exertions. The Connecticut Mutual lent a half million to its comrade in distress, and the steadfast old Hartford Bank promised its help to the limit of its power. After paying the losses, the amount left in the treasury being below that

required by law, the capital was reduced to $500,000 by vote of the directors, and immediately raised to a full million by new subscriptions, with a premium of $85 a share. Hardly had the directors had time to look around them after thus wrestling with misfortune, when, in the next year, came another crash, that of the Boston fire. This involved a loss of nearly half a million, which was fully paid.

Some young companies were wiped out of existence by these great and sudden disasters. One, the Orient, was not formed when Chicago was burning; but had the hard fortune, before it had completed its first year, to lose heavily by the Boston fire. But it paid every dollar, and by repeatedly turning dividends into the treasury, at length restored its capital to its first amount.

The Merchants Fire Insurance Company, when its losses were found to be beyond its power to meet, and it was urged to keep enough capital to live, refused utterly to do so, paid out its last dollar, and ceased to exist. Some of the men connected with it immediately formed a new company, the National, now one of the foremost in New England.

Five out of nine Hartford companies were destroyed by the Chicago fire, the loss mounting up to over eleven millions, and it is no exaggeration to say that Hartford was only second to Chicago in the loss from the great disaster.

What widespread disappointment and retrenchment followed among the private individuals who made up the great company of stockohlders in these organizations, can be estimated only by careful consideration. Houses stood unfinished, marriages were postponed, and for years, men, women, and children who had no connection with the unfortunate city in Illinois, and who depended on their ordinary assured

income from insurance stock, were impoverished, because the Chicago sufferers were fully and gladly reimbursed.

Unsparing praise is deserved by men who, in an unparalleled emergency, which would have been a justification for compromise, resolved that honorable obligations should be honorably met, if it took the last dollar under their control. It was a gallant action by gallant corporations, and proved unmistakably that they do sometimes have souls. It is very easy to say, after all is over, that it was fine policy for these companies, and it is true; but it is not hard to find abundant instances of the opposite practice among those who call it good business, and who have in some instances prospered by it.

There was a time when Life Insurance was regarded as an impious attempt to change the decrees of Providence; but all that has passed, and it is looked on rather as a religious duty. The business has taken long strides, and is one of the giants of our time. It was not till 1760, according to John M. Holcombe, that any regularly organized company existed even in England. Now the United States leads the world in the sums involved, having over eight billions of insurance in force, and accumulated assets of at least two billions. Consequently, it assumes a very important place in our affairs. This branch of insurance has been very successful in Connecticut, but in Hartford only, attempts in New Haven and other places in the State having been conspicuous by their failures.

Among the six life companies now existing in the State, the Connecticut Mutual Life is oldest, having been incorporated in 1846. It began its honorable career with due regard to the economy which had been so useful in the youth of the fire-insurance companies. Great caution was observed not

only in framing laws to guard the new enterprise, but in the actual administration of the company's affairs.

The success of the life-insurance system of the State was really established by the three founders of this company, Dr. Guy R. Phelps, E. O. Goodwin, and Elisha R. Pratt; although such an achievement would scarcely be expected from a retired physician and apothecary, a lawyer in poor health, and a carriage-maker. Each one proved his ability, and especially did the rigid economy and power as a financier of Dr. Phelps leave a lasting impress on his company. James Goodwin, who married Lucy Morgan, the sister of Junius S. Morgan, the London banker and the father of J. Pierpont Morgan, also presided for many years over the Connecticut Mutual very wisely; so that it attained an enviable position, with a reputation for conservatism, fairness to its clients, and deserved success.

The Aetna Insurance Company had, almost since its origin, possessed the privilege of granting annuities; but it did not expand that privilege into life insurance till 1850, some time after the Connecticut Mutual had demonstrated the desirability of the business. The delay did not seem to be harmful, for unequaled success has attended the career of the Aetna Life, placing it among the leading companies of its kind in the country. It has been fortunate—or perhaps, more accurately, very wise—in its policy, its investments, and consequently, its ability to amass and distribute wealth. Its great success has been attributed to insight in selecting and retaining Western farm lands as an investment.

Two flourishing existing companies owe their origin to faith in conditions different from those usually stipulated:—the Phœnix Mutual Life and the Connecticut General Life. the former began in 1851 as the American Temperance Insur-

ance Company, basing its ten per cent. lower rates on the probability of longevity among tee-totallers. It was undoubtedly true that abstinence promoted health; but it did not always cause a desire to insure; and to the non-abstainer the necessity of signing a temperance-pledge was not alluring; hence the temperance part was dropped and the name was changed in 1861. In 1865, the Connecticut General was started with the avowed purpose of insuring impaired lives; but two years were enough to prove that there was no profit in that; and the company has since been successful with business under the prevailing conditions.

The numerous small companies in various parts of the State scarcely need to be chronicled here; unless it be the first to be incorporated, in 1794, the Norwich Mutual Assurance Company, which by regarding prudent limitations still pursues the even tenor of its way. The parties in each policy have generally been well known to each other; and since 1838, policies have been restricted to dwellings, and have been limited to risks of a thousand dollars each. This San Marino among insurance companies has a capital of $12,000, its president's salary is $200, and Policy No. 1 is still in force on the house of the late Benjamin Huntington.

The local mutual fire-insurance companies have been successful as a system, the life, unsuccessful; the reason being that as fire risks do not materially change by age, the companies can always secure adequate premiums; while co-operative life associations always base their premiums on the deaths among the young, and consequently die as the members begin to age.

Of the forty mutual fire companies that the State has seen, all established on the principle that the profits be divided, in various ways, among the insured, generally so as to reduce

premiums, only eleven now exist. Some of them have their individual peculiarities, as the Hartford County Mutual Fire, which was once limited to buildings in the county and outside the city of Hartford. This restriction, modified to include the city in 1853, was of much value to policy-holders when the famous fires made the large companies tremble to their foundations. It began with small things; for twelve dollars expressed the losses and twelve dollars the surplus, of the first year.

Some skeptical persons failed to see anything but a joke in the latest wrinkle in the insurance craze, when in 1866 the Hartford Steam Boiler Company was chartered; but experience has proved it to be not only novel but excellent. Originating in the researches of a group of bright young men in Hartford, who were attracted by an account of the inspections made by the Manchester Steam-Users' Association in England, it wisely practiced economy in office expenditure until established business warranted luxury. To the ability and tact of the president, the late Jeremiah M. Allen, the success of the novel enterprise is greatly owing.

He used the "ounce of prevention" plan so sagely that more money is spent every year in inspecting boilers than in paying indemnity for ruined ones. The boiler that fails to come up to the standard cannot be insured; hence a great saving of life and limb over the old hap-hazard way of thinking that steam-boilers were a lottery, and that with them danger and usefulness went hand in hand. For five years the business of the company was transacted in a single small room furnished with Spartan simplicity; but the dividends were luxurious. So great care was exercised in inspecting that the losses were few, and the Insurance Department did not require any charge to liabilities for reinsurance reserve; and

"in less than three years, out of surplus earnings, the cash capital had grown from $100,000 to $190,000."

But the good done has not been confined to rolling up dividends; for it has dispensed much valuable information and advice to its patrons. The results of scientific investigation are given to the insured who ask for plans and specifications for boilers, settings, and pipings, or for steam chimneys, with supervision of erection at a reasonable price; or who come for advice about the structure of boilers, riveting of joints, or other practical questions. These appeals are so frequent that their answers require a separate department.

In some parts of the country the water is corrosive to boilers, and therefore, for a proper analysis of water and advice as to its use, the company has a chemical laboratory. Strict rules forbid any officer or employee to have any pecuniary interest in the sale of any boiler. In such ways has this company become a standard of excellence and a safeguard to the public security.

The insurance of slaves, coolies, and later of live-stock, has proved the reverse of fortunate and has passed away—too much temptation being offered to shorten the lives of valuable slaves or high-bred horses. Indeed, we have not carried our insurance system to the elaborate details of England, where nearly every possibility of life, even to the chance of losing the insurance for the chance of seeing a royal procession, may be insured; but in magnitude of interests involved, in vigor of management, and in almost universal patronage, no country exceeds the United States; and of these Connecticut easily takes the lead outside of New York.

The first "accident" insurance company in America, the famous Travelers of Hartford, owes its origin, in 1863, to James G. Batterson, its first president, who was inspired by

examining casualty companies in England. The management followed the traditional prudence in details at the start, and has had phenomenal success and a world-wide reputation.

The result might have been doubtful had traveling facilities been less safe. The comparative security of travel and the vast number of travelers is shown by a careful computation made by experts, proving that one cent additional on each ticket sold by the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad would enable that corporation to defray all expenses resulting from accidents to its passengers; in other words, to be its own insurance agent. And again, during the forty years of the Travelers' life, the aggregate paid for the never-ending succession of petty and single accidents has in each year surpassed many times over the sum of any reimbursements for the wholesale disasters that appall a nation, and in general has been fifteen or twenty times as much.

The great secret of the business lies in classifying occupations, or in excluding certain occupations from the classes to which they do not belong. The rates are only adapted to and remunerative for each class as long as the classification is maintained. The life business has become decidedly the most important part of this great company.

Insurance, with all its departments, has become so strict a science, and is now so interwoven with the habits and the financial affairs of the whole people, that the proper comprehension of its intricacies requires a trained mathematical mind; the administration of details in any one of the great companies employs a small army of competent workers; and so seriously does the importance of the new profession impress the authorities of Yale University that insurance has been established as a new course of study, begun in 1903-4 by a carefully arranged course of lectures delivered by the

men who as leaders and experts have helped to make it a science.

CHAPTER XI

Yale College in the Last Century

WITH the inauguration, in 1795, of Timothy Dwight the elder, the grandson of Jonathan Edwards, a new era in Yale's history began. Of broad mind, warm heart, unusual attainments as a scholar, fine face and figure, ceaseless energy, and great personal magnetism, he brought to his new work the benefit of experience as a chaplain in the Revolutionary army, a successful teacher of a flourishing school, a writer of prose and poetry admired in his day, and a beloved pastor. The impulse of his far-seeing mind and wide-reaching ambition for his college, and the fortunate results of his zeal, are still felt, and that the Yale of today has so nearly realized his dreams is because he combined with the vision of a seer the great executive ability of a man of affairs.

He taught the Senior Class, being Professor of English Literature and Oratory, and of Divinity, besides giving the inevitable two sermons every Sunday, and by his vigorous writings warding off from the country the danger of French atheism. At first, he and Professor Meigs and three tutors carried the whole burden of teaching; but as success brought large numbers, and the State gave encouraging aid, additions were made to the Faculty.

The three men thus added were men of powers so rare and surpassing that they, with their vigorous head, swayed the destiny of the college: Jeremiah Day, James L. Kingsley, and Benjamin Silliman; the first, a mathematician whose textbooks held a high rank for years; the second, called the Addison of America, and so accurate a scholar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew that his brilliant classmate, Moses Stuart, Andover's great Hebrew scholar, dreaded his criticism; the

third, recognized the world over as a matchless pioneer in science in the New World.

The work of these men, united in devoting every energy of their richly-endowed natures to the college, may be read in the present results. May it not be that the distinction which Yale has always since then held in the departments of mathematics, linguistics, and science, springs from the strong bent given by these three great scholars?

President Dwight abolished fines and fagging; he published the first annual catalogue of students, only a single sheet, and a contrast to the thick volume of six or seven hundred pages of to-day, but still the first issued by this or any other college in America; he had the foresight to buy most of the land now included between College, Chapel, High, and Elm Streets; he bound the students to him by love and admiration which ended only with their lives, and to which has been traced the origin of the Yale spirit.

On the land so purchased, he succeeded in placing in 1800 some needed buildings, which formed a part of the famous "Old Brick Row;" North Middle and the Lyceum. In 1782, had been built the Laboratory, in which Professor Silliman was to perform the electrical experiments which may have inspired his pupil, Morse, to those achievements which have carried his name around the world on the wings of the telegraph. In 1804, the subterranean scene of these lectures in this old laboratory was so deep down in the earth that the lecturer's head was six feet below the surface of the ground; but nothing quenched the ardor of Silliman's zeal.

Dwight had always before him the vision of a future university with departments ably equipped and working as parts of a harmonious whole; and thus in 1806, he urged the

establishment of a medical school, and helped to so effect the union between the college and the Connecticut Medical Association, which had by its charter controlled the medical education of the State, that in 1810, the "Medical Institution of Yale College" was chartered, and in 1813 was opened. The Yale Medical School, the oldest of her departments, thus differs from all other medical schools in America in being the direct offspring of the college.

The Medical Faculty consisted of Dr. Eneas Munson; Dr. Eli Ives, a beloved and successful physician, famous for his knowledge of the indigenous *materia medica;* Dr. Jonathan Knight, then only twenty-three, but to become a distinguished surgeon, and an unrivalled lecturer on his chosen subject; Dr. Nathan Smith, who, defying poverty, had, by studying abroad, gained a medical education extraordinary for his time and, in the words of a great modern medical authority, "became famous in his day, is still more famous to-day, and has shed undying glory on the Yale Medical School, with a reputation which has steadily increased as the medical profession has slowly caught up with him;" and Benjamin Silliman, who had by this time "made New Haven the most important centre for scientific work and usefulness in this country."

Professor Jeremiah Day, who was ordained as a minister of the gospel on the day when he succeeded President Dwight in 1817, was of a different type. Quiet and retiring, while he may have lacked the magnetism of his predecessor, his control of himself and others, his spotless life, and his great administrative ability won unbounded respect. He inspired the tradition of system and order which has since prevailed. Whether the independent sentiments fostered by the great war, or failure to understand the best ways of managing

young men, were responsible, it is evident that during President Dwight's administration and the early part of President Day's there was much turbulence, even reaching the climax of pistol shots being exchanged between teachers and scholars. This unhappy state of things was wisely met by the gentle firmness of the president. During his thirty years of office there were some famous "rebellions;" one known by the suggestive name of "Bread and Butter," and another by the more exalted one of "Conic Sections," which in 1830 brought matters to a crisis. The battle was decided in favor of the Faculty, even though it cost the expulsion of forty-four Sophomores, a serious loss in those days. But insubordination was changed to the habit of obedience; and since then the supremacy of the college authorities has been broken by none but transient and superficial disturbances.

There were new professors: the gifted Alexander M. Fisher, whose early death at sea inflicted a lasting loss; Eleazar T. Fitch, the college preacher, of extraordinarily rare and varied powers of mind; Chauncey A. Goodrich, of persuasive utterance and invaluable personal influence, known also as the son-in-law and coadjutor of Noah Webster; Denison Olmsted, whose text-books on Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, in a day when text books were few, carried his name far and near. The Faculty now had organized control of the students; the treasury, which had been for long years nurtured by the wise management of James Hillhouse, was strengthened, in the last years of his term, by the fund of 1831, $100,000, raised by determined effort. This assured such permanence and security to the work as it had never before had.

In 1822, the Divinity School, for which Dwight had hoped and planned, was established as a department, and was made

From the engraving by John Sartain.

Rev. Jeremiah Day Rev. Theodore Woolsey Prof. Benj. Silliman

COMMENCEMENT DAY YALE COLLEGE, JULY 26, 1860

noted by its great light, the illustrious Nathaniel W. Taylor. The Law school, which as a private enterprise had existed for some time, came under the wing of the college in 1824 through the fact that Judge David Daggett, one of its able teachers, then became the Kent Professor of Law in the college.

To Day's period belong some buildings that have become historic in college annals,—North College, the Old Chapel, Divinity Hall, the Cabinet, and the Treasury, all since demolished. The Cabinet was the repository of the collection of minerals that Colonel Gibbs had brought from Europe and lent to the college. Its fame brought visitors from far and near, and when in 1824 it was necessary to buy it or lose it, it was felt that no possible effort should be spared to keep it; and with the liveliest satisfaction, the friends of the college saw the required sum, $20,000, raised, and the danger of parting with the treasure averted. This beautiful collection thus became the nucleus of the magnificent mineralogical treasures of the Peabody Museum.

President Day left the college with greatly increased numbers, with a zealous and well-proportioned faculty, and more systematic organization than it had ever had. In the light of present theories, nothing about him is more remarkable than that having been, in his youth, condemned to the prospect of enforced idleness and an early death on account of repeated hemorrhages and advanced tubercular disease, he lived by judicious care to use his mind and body, for the signal benefit of mankind, to his ninety-fifth year.

Yale, always fortunate in having presidents of lofty Christian character and exact scholarship, was never more so than when Theodore Dwight Woolsey became the successor of President Day, in 1846.

He had brought ideas of profound scholarship from the Old World, and had been a professor of Greek for fifteen years when he was elected president. He had Edwards blood, and the high ideal which was his by inheritance having been intensified by his years of study in Europe, his influence was very soon seen in the elevation of the standards of the whole college. Great as a student, a thinker, an expert in international law, he was also great as an administrator, and thus inspired veneration for both his mind and his office, gave to learning a momentum it has not lost, and made of his term a memorable epoch. His stringent requirements gave a high tone to undergraduate life, and his fearless assumption of authority when necessary strengthened the habit of subordination established by Day.

The graduate school came into being in 1846; in 1847, the law school was expanded by the addition to its Faculty of Governor Bissell and that able jurist, Judge Henry Dutton, afterwards Governor.

The college developed rapidly on intellectual lines. Professors were added whose names have since been household words as makers of Yale,—James Hadley, the variety and perfection of whose attainments, accentuated by a phenomenal memory, remind us of the famous scholars of old; Elias Loomis, whose mathematical powers applied to astronomical and mathematical publications brought him a fortune; Noah Porter, of "Human Intellect" fame; James D. Dana, one of the great geologists of his time; George P. Fisher, a master in Ecclesiastical History; Josiah W. Gibbs, the Hebrew scholar, Hubert A. Newton, a leader in Meteoric Astronomy; Thomas A. Thacher, who for more than forty years, as a professor of Latin, exerted incalculable good by his wonderful personal influence.

These men, all stars of the first magnitude in the galaxy of American scholars, were quite as remarkable for their devotion to Yale. They labored as one family—as indeed many of them were linked by ties of blood—for the holy cause of building up their college. The history of these struggling years can never be fully written, for the archives to be consulted are often locked in the grave; but the pinched salaries, the totally inadequate fund—the entire income of the colleg in 1849 beign less than $34,000—and on the other hand the glorious results, speak for themselves of persistent and exalted devotion. This is one of the glories of Yale—the scholarly heroism of many of her most eminent teachers, men whose world-wide reputations brought them tempting offers to go elsewhere, but whom no lures however generous, no solicitations however urgent, could persuade to desert the life-work of upbuilding the college of their love. So conspicuous has this been that it was remarked as an era when in 1879, for the first time since the opening of the century, a full professor left to accept a chair in another college.

The year of President Woolsey's inauguration was signalized by the completion of the first fitting abiding-place for the library. To the building, the first of stone and the first of Gothic style on the campus, President Woolsey was the second largest donor; and to the library itself he afterwards gave his fine private Greek library. The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the college was celebrated with due pomp, and the graduates subscribed money for Alumni Hall, another Gothic building endeared by the associations of after years. It was with great rejoicing that, in 1850, a second fund of $100,000 was raised. It probably cost as much effort as the $2,000,000 raised for the Bicentennial Fund.

Senior year became anything but the period of rest for-

merly longed for, biennial examinations cast their dread shadow over the whole course; and in every way President Woolsey inculcated the motto of Edwards:—"Resolved: While I do live, to live with all my might."

Professor Edward E. Salisbury, the only man in America who could teach Sanskrit, became identified with the college; an event momentous, not only in the acquisition of so scholarly a presence and influence as his and for beginning the line of great Oriental scholars who have made Yale illustrious, but in fixing in permanent position by his generous endowment those great men, William D. Whitney and James D. Dana; the one as comparative philologist and Sanskrit scholar, the other as geologist, taking the highest rank among the world's scholars, finally gathering a long trail of honorary initials from learned societies, and by lifelong devotion to the college work, giving it an international reputation. Dana assisted and continued the work of the Sillimans in the "Journal of Science." Whitney, indefatigable to the last, combined with the Indo-European studies that made New Haven a center of philological study for the country, his labor as the guiding spirit of the Century Dictionary.

Athletics, too, became bold enough to claim a gymnasium as a college building, in which were actually the hitherto questioned tenpins. This was a great contrast to the beginning of the century, when, if contemporary engravings may be trusted, men tried to pursue the flying football in silk hats and tight coats, or even the later time, when, as the second President Dwight records with glee, his class won both as Freshmen and Sophomores in "the annual game on the Green."

From 1853 on, the hammer and chisel have seldom ceased in Yale's behalf. During President Woolsey's term, besides

YALE COLLEGE IN 1858

the before-mentioned buildings, there were given and reared, the Art School, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Augustus R. Street, who, by this building and a fund, provided for the encouragement of the study of art; Farnam and Durfee Halls, dormitories; and the Winchester Observatory, to be devoted mainly to original astronomical research; and the foundations were laid for the Peabody Museum, the generous gift of George Peabody, the American banker in London.

With the Peabody Museum is indissolubly connected the memory of Othniel C. Marsh, who taking the chair of palæontology in 1866, gave the remaining thirty years of his life to unremitting research in his chosen field, and to amassing an almost peerless treasure of fossils. He organized and conducted a series of "Yale Scientific Expeditions" to regions difficult of access beyond the Missouri River, bringing back in six years "four hundred specimens of vertebrate fossils new to science." The expedition of 1871, at a cost of $40,000, collected fifteen thousand specimens. Thus he could arrive at very important conclusions. Marsh completed his generosity by giving all his private collections to the Museum, and his beautiful house and grounds to the university, for the furtherance of the study of Botany.

During the same period, Addison E. Verrill was making his study of deep-sea life, bringing in, in a few years, over 200,000 zoölogical specimens, and thereby enhancing the value of the opportunities for study.

Nothing in the reign of Woolsey was so fraught with future harvest as the founding of the Scientific School, which, in its beginning with small things, has often been likened to the parent college; in the second case, however, the period of probation was short. Had not Yale possessed Benjamin Silliman, the rising tendencies towards scientific study might have

produced a school elsewhere. But his great work, of which more hereafter, was pre-eminently that of arousing interest. Students were attracted to New Haven by his laboratory. In 1846, his son, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., who had given instruction in scientific branches, and John Pitkin Norton, began under the roof of a college building, and with the approval of the authorities, but on their own financial responsibility in nearly every way, a school for practical instruction in Analytical Chemistry and Mineralogy; thus beginning the Scientific Department of Yale College, now the Sheffield Scientific School. Benjamin Silliman, Jr., had the advantage of inherited tendencies and of familiarity with the work from childhood; John Pitkin Norton, son of one of Nature's noblemen, John T. Norton of Farmington, had had his undeniable talents cultivated by foreign study to a then uncommon degree in a then uncommon department of science, and became the first American Professor of Agricultural Chemistry. To these two young men, both personally most attractive, was given to do a memorable service for the coming university.

Professor Norton's career was cut short by a lamented death. We cannot say that he lived in vain, when it is said that he prepared the way for the phenomenal success of the department which in numbers and importance ranks next to the Academic.

Soon two new professors, William A. Norton and John A. Porter, added great weight to the school.

The massive gates of great events turned on the circumstance of Professor Porter's appointment; for as he married the daughter of Mr. Joseph E. Sheffield, already well known in railroad enterprises, the attention of his father-in-law was drawn to the great needs and possibilities of the school, with the effect of inducing him to bestow benefactions so generous

that to this day he stands at the head of Yale's ever open-handed donors.

In suitable recognition, in 1861, the Department of Philosophy and the Arts having been divided, the scientific part was called the Sheffield Scientific School of Yale College. Mr. Sheffield had the rare wisdom to give while he was alive, and could not only adjust his gifts to the precise need of the moment, but could have the pleasure of seeing the seed bring forth the harvest. Accordingly, having bought the former Medical School building, he enlarged it and presented it to the Scientific School, which he endowed with a fund, followed by constant donations of large sums and the encouragement of his advice and interest; and he completed all by the bequest of his house and grounds and other valuable property. Few benefactors have been more faultless in their generosity; fewer still more fortunate in living to see the success that proved the wisdom of the gifts.

In 1856, the school was strengthened by the accession of Professor Samuel A. Johnson, now long acknowledged as a chemist of pre-eminence, and the leading spirit in establishing agricultural stations all over the country; and of Professor George Jarvis Brush, who had been one of the first class graduated from the school, and who not only added to Yale's list of great mineralogists, but became, as Director, the helmsman of the newly launched ship, with hand so even, eye so far-seeing, judgment so unerring, devotion so sleepless that he brought it into the port of success as if blown by a favoring tradewind. The department was again fortunate in his successor, the noted expert in physiological chemistry, Russell H. Chittenden.

Other factors of success were Professor William A. Brewer, untiring in the cause of science and the public good,

whose versatility of subject was only exceeded by the inexhaustible knowledge that his remarkable memory had collected; and Professor Thomas A. Lounsbury, who has long been an acknowledged authority on Chaucer and Shakespeare, and a brilliant writer on many and varied themes of scholarship.

The patriotism of Yale, from the president down, during the Civil War, is an oft-told tale; and in the resulting Alabama Claims, and the Fisheries Dispute, President Woolsey's opinion as one of the world's experts in international law was sought and respected. The intellectual and material expansion of the college during his term made it an era of memorable importance.

Noah Porter, Professor of Mental Philosophy, did not need to be introduced to the world of thinkers when he took the presidency in 1871; and there was no break in the development already begun. His sympathetic, personal, fatherly interest in the young men won their affection to a remarkable degree. His researches in the human mind did not prevent him from being an expert oarsman, and the coincidence seemed not inappropriate between his accession and the foundation of the Rowing Association of Colleges. In 1872, football was introduced at Yale; in the next year she was a leading member of the football association; then occurred the first field games of the Yale Athletic Association; in 1877, Yale began her annual races at New London with her 'dearest foe,' Harvard; in 1879, the Intercollegiate Baseball Association was formed, and members of the class of 1881 secured by subscription from students and recent graduates the Yale Field, which after many years of careful preparation became the scene of some of the great contests that have drawn the vast crowds of modern times; and has just now,

free from incumbrance, been handed over to the University authorities, with Walter Camp as its director.

The effort to raise a fund commensurate with the expanded college was hampered by the panic of 1873, but yet resulted in the substantial addition of $173,000 to the treasury.

During this period death ended the long and faithful service of many of the old professors who had given Yale renown: Hadley, William A. Norton, Packard, Thacher, Loomis; while Gilman, Carter, Northrop, and Walker went forth to be college presidents themselves. The success of the *Daily News* proved that community of interests was growing between the different departments. Younger men came in, full of enterprise, and with new ideas. In 1872 also, a far-reaching change was made in the corporation, whereby the six senators who had formerly been selected from the Connecticut General Assembly, to be members of the Corporation, were replaced by six graduates elected by the alumni. In this way, the graduates all over the country feel that they are in touch with the work in New Haven; and their satisfaction in being permitted to participate in the care of Alma Mater is shown by the wide-spread interest in the election of any new member of the Corporation. Graduate work was extended, and electives were cautiously introduced.

During President Porter's term, some beautiful and needed buildings were given, in most cases bearing the names of the donors; the Sloane Physical Laboratory, the Kent Chemical Laboratory, Lawrence Hall, and the complete building for the College Young Men's Christian Association given by Mr. Elbert B. Monroe, the residuary legatee of Mr. Frederick Marquand. It was named in honor of the elder Dwight, Dwight Hall, and is now regarded as the center of the religious life of the University.

It was deemed a happy omen that the name of Timothy Dwight should appear a second time as the president of Yale, when he succeeded President Porter in 1886. The fact that he was one of the Divinity faculty, and was champion of the university idea, was a token of the change which occurred in 1887, when, by Act of the General Assembly, the title "Yale University" was authorized.

Genial and very witty, Dr. Dwight had long been well known as a scholar and a member of the Bible Revision Committee, and in one way and another he had had a lifelong association with the college.

Expansion both in numbers and in scope continued under him. Electives, which had not been sincerely welcomed by President Porter, were now increasingly provided, and they in turn required a large force of instructors and enlarged equipment. This growth gave renewed opportunity for gifts, so that this administration became one of the great building periods. Dwight Hall and the two laboratories were completed at the beginning of his term, and the walls of Osborn, Welch, White, and Winchester Halls, the last for the engineering department of the Sheffield Scientific School, all bearing the givers' names; Vanderbilt Hall, given by Mr. and Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt in memory of their son, William Henry; Phelps Memorial Hall, in memory of William Walter Phelps, given by his family; the Yale Infirmary, given by ladies of New Haven and New York; the Gymnasium, given by many graduates; Berkeley and Pierson Halls, built by the university,—all went up then. The new buildings for the Law School, called from its chief giver Hendrie Hall, was constructed gradually during this time, not being completed till 1900.

The School of Music assumed its place as a department,

and is evidently destined to exert a deep influence in developing musical taste in New Haven as well as in student life.

Organized effort was seen in many directions. Clubs devoted to things religious, scientific, literary, mathematical, philosophical, linguistic, archæological, anthropological, athletic, social, in short, fitted to touch every kind of scholarly interest, arose; fellowships, scholarships, and prizes in increasing numbers stimulated the ambition of the students; the great variety of graduate and elective courses, bringing students from all parts of the country and of the world, rendered the machinery of education very complicated in comparison with that of the beginning of the century or even ten years before.

College periodicals flourished, and have now become very numerous and important. Of these, the "Lit," or "Yale Literary Magazine," deserves notice. Established in 1836, it is the oldest permanent college magazine in America; and having started with a board of editors that included Evarts, the future statesman, and Lyman, the future astronomer, its editorial list has had many a brilliant name, such as Donald G. Mitchell, Henry B. Harrison, D. C. Gilman, Andrew D. White; and a high standard of literary excellence has been sedulously maintained.

Professor Tracy Peck, the profound Latin scholar, represented Yale in Rome for a year as the head of the American School of Archæology; and Yale graduates have won a large share of honors there. An honor came to Yale in 1899 by the invitation given to Professor Ladd to lecture on the Philosophy of Mind before the Imperial University of Japan. His lectures there, and before the National Education Society of Japan, as well as in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, were received with great enthusiasm. Until the time of the second

President Dwight, the different departments, while on most friendly terms, pursued each its own course, a natural result of the fact that most of them had to clear their own way and earn their own living, literally. Under him, however, the process of incorporating them into one body, of welding together the different parts of the structure, progressed rapidly.

The day of specialists and special study had come, requiring complicated educational machinery and great executive ability. With all these changes came vital questions as to policy, and the probable effect, near and remote, of the new order of things, the answers to which must be worked out in the slow school of experience. It was with melancholy forebodings that some recited "The old order passeth and giveth way to the new;" while others, seeming to see the glow of dawning day, were full of joy.

President Dwight, whose constant benefactions were as timely as secret, and who never drew his salary, refused all entreaties to continue to preside through the two hundredth anniversary of the college, and preferred to observe the unwritten law of retirement at threescore and ten. The mantle fell on his successor, the gifted Arthur T. Hadley, the son of Professor James Hadley, amid the imposing ceremonies of the most brilliant inauguration that Yale had witnessed; graduates, undergraduates, and distinguished delegates from other seats of learning, all contributing to the dignity and picturesqueness of the occasion.

The new president, who resembled his father in his wide range of exact learning and grasp of intellect, and had acquired a brilliant reputation as an authority in Railroad Science, differed from his predecessors in being the youngest of the line, and in being the first who was not an ordained

minister of the gospel. Those who surmised from the latter circumstance that the cause of religion would suffer found themselves greatly mistaken.

The note to which his ideas were keyed may be heard in the oft-quoted passage in his inaugural address:—"What shall it profit us if we gain the whole world and lose our own soul, if we develop the intellectual and material side of our education and lose the traditional spirit of democracy, and loyalty, and Christianity?"

One of the first objects of attention presented to the new president was the proper preparation for the approaching Bicentennial Celebration in October, 1901. The harmonious and systematic labors of the committee, most judiciously chosen, working untiringly during the next two years, were effectual in bringing to pass a jubilee which has never been equalled in the history of this country, and in the opinion of competent observers from foreign countries, has seldom been surpassed anywhere.

The university buildings, and the city even to remote quarters, were dressed in gala attire, which, following the suggestions of Louis Tiffany, was most effective; the crowds of happy alumni, pouring in from Maine to California, and even from the isles of the sea, the unprecedented assemblage of distinguished guests who came as delegates from institutions of learning in this country and in Europe as well as in Japan, moving about in their sometimes brilliant and always imposing gowns of state, the illuminations of city and university by night, the music and gorgeous processions by day, and, bathing all in an ideal glow, the festive air of every man, woman, and child who crowded the streets; the golden atmosphere of four perfect October days,—all conspired to make this celebration one that can never be forgotten.

This was the time when each department put forth its best to do honor to the venerable parent of them all; and the addresses by the honored representatives of Yale in theology, medicine, law, science, and letters, set forth the glories achieved by each for her. The story of the years was told in other ways also; there were collections to be seen that would easily have absorbed all the time. At the Art School was an historical exhibition of paintings which covered nearly the period of the existence of the college, from Smybert to Inness; the Steinert collection of musical instruments was displayed so far as space allowed; the Peabody Museum, in addition to the general remarkable collection, exhibited some gigantic fossils which had taken months to mount; and in the Library, a never-ending crowd lingered over the surprising display of relics pertaining to college history, and the scores of greetings from the universities of the world. These greetings, in languages dead and living, on parchment, vellum, or paper, engrossed with all the cunning of mediaeval art, expressed in varying words one sentiment, that of friendly congratulation. Princeton, with her glowing arabesques of the violet and the chrysanthemum entwined. Harvard, with her stern simplicity, and Tokio, with a scroll five or six feet long, and a special letter from the Yale Club in Japan, won perhaps the most attention.

The crowning event was the presentation of honorary degrees; and the final touch was given to that day by the presence of Theodore Roosevelt, who amid applauding throngs, came as the President of the United States to receive the honor that had been designed for him as a private citizen. In all this crowded series of events, ministering to eye and ear, to mind, heart, and college patriotism, involving thousands of persons in a bewildering variety of situations, there was

not a flaw or a hitch in the arrangements, which moved on as smoothly as if bicentennial celebrations had been a part of the college curriculum for years.

When the pageant had ended, and the orator's voice was not heard, when the famous visitors had gone home, and the town and university had laid aside their fine array of bunting and evergreen and electric lights, there was time to see how well the traits of systematic thoroughness, of perfection in details, of inexhaustible patience, of power of co-ordination—in short, of the administrative ability of the university, had served the exigencies of that extraordinary time, even as they had been for generations serving the every-day needs of the college. Each man had done his part, knowing that it could never be repeated, and that it admitted no mistake. The university had lived up to the resolution of Jonathan Edwards, on that occasion at least.

German universities have often presented a volume of scientific studies on some academic anniversary, and with this in mind it was at first proposed to issue a few books setting forth the researches of Yale professors; but the material afforded was so abundant and represented so many different lines of work, that upwards of twenty-five volumes were published, the financial guarantee of $15,000 being provided by a graduate. These Bicentennial books will be touched on later, and are really the most lasting and significant commemoration of the time.

One notable feature of the occasion was the Bicentennial Fund, which was contributed by graduates and friends to the amount of $2,000,000, by means of which the group known as the Bicentennial Buildings came into being as a monument of the anniversary. These are the Administration Building, dedicated as Woodbridge Hall in Bicentennial Week; the

new dining-hall, called University Hall, where another effort is made to solve the problem of College commons; and, connected with that by the spacious rotunda known as Memorial Hall, the Auditorium, named in honor of President Woolsey. To give the ear as well as the eye its share of pleasure in this gem of architecture, the Newberry Memorial Organ was placed therein by the family of John Strong Newberry. This organ, one of the largest in the country, was made as complete and as nearly perfect in every detail as possible. These large buildings were not all finished until 1903. At the same time were rising the walls of Fayerweather Hall and the Lampson Lyceum; and the Scientific School was the recipient of munificent gifts in buildings,—Kirtland Hall, much needed for Mineralogy and Geology; Byers Hall, one of the most beautiful of the college possessions, filling a keenly-felt want for a religious and social centre for the Sheffield men, who will hereafter find within these refined and artistic surroundings the headquarters of their Young Men's Christian Association, and opportunities for recreation and enjoyment; and last, but by no means least, was the gift of Mr. Frederick Vanderbilt, of the S. S. S. class of '76, by which the Scientific School came into possession of a large block of land on which he has built a most tasteful as well as massive dormitory, fitted with careful eye to the best life of the students.

This—to be called the "Vanderbilt," in memory of the donor's father—will be followed by another similar building; and thus at last the Sheffield Scientific School will be enabled to have the dormitory life which has been much needed, and which is acknowledged to be most conducive to the best college spirit.

Without dormitories, the increasing number of scientific

students (837 in 1903) has led them to group themselves in small houses, more or less comfortable and elegant, and to thereby be in danger, by comparative isolation, of losing the feeling of unity, of *esprit du corps,* which has always proved to be very valuable.

In 1900, owing to the generosity of Mr. James W. Pinchot the Forest School was founded, having its headquarters in the fine house bequeathed by Marsh, and doing field work acceptably in tracts of land placed at its disposal by the city, State, and friends in Pennsylvania and the State of New York.

In 1903, was celebrated the bicentennial of the birth of Yale's great son, Jonathan Edwards, with appropriate addresses and an exhibition of some of the relics in the possession of the university, including his desk, on which he wrote the "Freedom of the Will," and portions of the precious manuscripts, which to the number of some thousands have been presented to the University.

Unbroken harmony has always prevailed between the Corporation and the Faculty. It is almost needless to say that there has been a steady increase in numbers, both of students and faculty, through the century; the former in 1903 numbering 3,142; the latter, including assistants in administration, 384. The students in Yale's nine departments in 1903, assembled from forty-two States and Territories, including Hawaii and the Philippines; and from nineteen foreign countries: England, France, Greece, Holland, Sweden, Turkey, Armenia, Asia Minor, Canada, Nova Scotia, Cuba, Chili, Brazil, Mauritius, and from such uttermost parts of the earth as India, China, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

Space fails for showing the lighter side of the picture, for describing the varying forms of student life which have made

it dear to its participants. One thing is certain; that the ever-widening provisions and opportunities for college study which are now offered to all sorts and conditions of men, and the increasing liberality of feeling among the intellectual chiefs of the world have broken down many barriers, and the old animosity between Town and Gown has become only a tradition.

In the course of years, the forty books have had accretions which, with the various departmental libraries, amount to over 370,000 volumes, and include some precious collections, among them the Count Riant collection of Scandinavian literature. The Salisbury collection of Oriental Manscripts, books and works of reference; the valuable Count Landberg library of rare Arabic manuscripts; the library of the American Oriental Society, together with the well-stocked Semitic section of the University Library—befit the home of Oriental scholarship which has been nurtured by such men as Salisbury, Whitney, Williams, and Sanders, and where the Department of Asiatic History is more fully cared for and taught than anywhere else in America. There is also a Historical Library of Foreign Missions, comprising about 7,000 books in various languages, designed to furnish the latest and fullest missionary intelligence, which is owing to the generosity and indefatigable interest of the Rev. Dr. George E. Day. It has become one of the two largest mission libraries in the world, the other one being in Denmark. The Lowell Mason Library of Church Music, of 4,000 volumes, recalls the labor of love of Joel Sumner Smith, who gave, for more than three years, four hours a day without any compensation to the work of cataloguing it in admirable style. Nor was that all: during ten years he expended most of his salary in collecting a library of about 6,000 Russian books, which,

with an anonymously printed catalogue, he presented to the University, exacting strict secrecy as to the giver. In like manner, he gave a collection of works on the history of music, with an outlay of at least twelve thousand dollars for both.

Needless to say, when, after his death, the facts could be made known, a movement was immediately started to return this sum to his widow.

The Art School is the repository of the Trumbull Gallery, fifty-four of the works of the patriot painter, John Trumbull, most of them of great historical importance; of the Alden Belgian wood-carvings of the sixteenth century, from a chapel in Ghent; of Chinese porcelains and bronzes of great value from the collection of the late Dr. S. Wells Williams; of casts, modern paintings, some original sketches by Correggio and others of the old masters; and, most important of all, of the Jarves Gallery of 122 Italian paintings, *cassoni,* and triptychs, dating from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, and most suggestive and interesting in the illustration of the development of the art of the old masters.

The Steinert Collection is a rare exhibition of antique—and in some cases historic—harpsichords, claviers, and spinets, as well as of autograph letters of great musicians.

But when we come to the scientific collections of the University, we speak of matters of world-wide reputation among scholars. The palæontological collection in the Peabody Museum is unsurpassed by that of any educational institution in this country, and affords great opportunities for investigation and study. It was a chance remark by President Gilman at a dinner in London that brought Huxley to this country to see this. He expressed himself as feeling fully repaid by the study of a collection for which Europe did not offer an equal. And there are literally car-loads of similar

specimens packed away, waiting for time and space to see the light of day.

Since Huxley's visit, the labor of putting together and mounting many more of these fossils has been completed; among the Museum's special contributions to the Bicentennial were a skeleton of the primitive dog, the only complete one in existence, and a slab containing the skeleton of a Cretaceous Dinosaur measuring more than twenty-nine feet in length by thirteen feet in height, the last requiring more than a year of labor on mounting by Professor Beecher and his assistants. Among these huge remains are the skull of a gigantic Dinosaur from the Cretaceous of Wyoming; part of the thigh bone of Atlantosaurus, the largest of Dinosaurs and of land animals yet known; the remains of a Jurassic Dinosaur about thirty feet long, which had immense plates on its back and spines on its tail; and two skeletons of gigantic Moas, extinct birds of New Zealand, besides a Brontosauraus—only partly shown, for lack of room—which was seventy feet long and twenty feet high. Of a vast number of footprints, only a few slabs are exhibited; some showing long lines of tracks of biped reptiles; and one about twelve feet long, covered with the prints of raindrops that fell in a remote period of time.

The Peabody Museum collection of fossils is the monument of Marsh, who with a devotion that was a life-long passion, expended time, strength, fortune, in the acquisition and study and mounting of these silent revealers of vanished forms of life. Sometimes months are spent in mounting one specimen; and it is work which only a scientific expert can do. Marsh's successor, the greatly lamented Beecher, who gave a valuable invertebrate collection to the Museum, was one of the few experts in his difficult science; and his

recent death, following that of his great master, has been a severe blow to the cause of science.

The Peabody Museum also contains the noted Blum collection of pseudomorphs, a very fine one of corals and marine life, results of the labors of Dana and Verrill; a very important collection of skeletons, mostly given by Marsh, who bestowed much care on securing them; an anthropological collection of interest, and a remarkable collection of Indian baskets deposited by Mr. and Mrs. Seth Moseley.

In minerals, the Museum is very rich. The candle-box of specimens which Benjamin Silliman took to Philadelphia in 1802, was a small beginning of a collection so brilliant and extensive as the present one. It includes the "Gibbs cabinet," which contributed so largely to excite public interest in the department of knowledge to which the Museum is devoted. Its collection of meteorites is also one of the largest in the country, and includes the celebrated mass of meteoric metal weighing 1,635 pounds which fell in Texas; nearly two thousand small meteorites from two falls in Iowa; the famous Western meteorite of 1807, which was then described by Professors Silliman and Kingsley, and was the beginning of this remarkable treasure of meteorites; and the collection made by the late Professor Newton, whose life-work made him one of the great authorities on Meteoric Astronomy.

But the superficial views of buildings and growing numbers and elaborate appliances for education are not those by which the friends of Yale wish her to be judged. They are worthy of note mainly because they are tokens of something far deeper, the undying affection of the graduates, whose loyalty is her best endowment, and which seeks its expression in giving the best that each can offer, be it trilobite or scholarship or gate or massive building. And this loyalty

is rooted in the conviction that the years spent within college walls have meant more than what is gained by study alone, or by social advancement, or by the formation of life-long friendships, valuable as these are. There has been the feeling that that which ought to be the aim and result of education, character, has been developed by the indefinable influence of a hundred elements of Yale's life in the past and present. The "Yale spirit," acknowledged to be really unique, has not acquired its name without cause. To learn to not sulk under defeat, but to win from it lessons for future victory, to subordinate the individual interest to the good of society, to concentrate all the intensity of human nature on the accomplishment of a selected aim; these are things that will govern a man's career in life. The charter of 1701 distinctly stated the object of the collegiate school to be the preparation of young men for "public service in both church and state;" and the responsibilty towards public affairs has not been neglected. President Woolsey's last public prayer, that the faculty might always feel that "life was higher than learning," has not been without answer. The lectures of Mr. Justice Brewer of the Supreme Court, and of Bishop Potter, are tokens of the present administration's constant and consitent effort to promote good citizenship, and to inspire men with such ideas as will make the political fabric stronger for their being interwoven with it.

Yale's part in the history of missions must not be neglected. What Edwards and Brainard and Eleazar Wheelock did for the Indians is known to all. Although the American Board of Foreign Missions got its charter (after much opposition there) in Massachusetts. Yet Connecticut, through Yale men, had really an equal influence in its founding. In 1809, the great Hebrew scholar Moses Stuart urged its formation; and

on Sept. 10, 1810, the Board was legally organized in Farmington, in the house of the Rev. Dr. Noah Porter, a distinguished Yale graduate and member of the Corporation, the father of President Noah Porter.

The meeting was presided over by Governor Treadwell, class of 1767, one of the foremost men of New England then, and serving for years as the first president of the Board; while four-ninths of the original members, including President Dwight, were Yale men, as were eight of the twenty-six corporate members in 1813; and the efficient treasurer for many years was Jeremiah Evarts, whose sagacity and energy did much to build up the Board.

Among the hundreds of her sons whom Yale has sent to the field are many whose names will never die in missionary annals, and some who have turned the course of nations. Such was Asa Thurston, the most athletic man of his time in college, whose stalwart form drawn up in wrath struck dismay to the savages who had presumed to alarm his wife, the man who remained on the Sandwich Islands for forty-eight years without returning, and from whom Kamehameha II. and Kamehameha III. imbibed those advanced ideas which have borne such fruit; Hiram Bingham, Jr., who with his wife toiled for eighteen years to give the Bible to the Gilbert Islanders, to whom they were the first missionaries; Samuel Robbins Brown, who left an indelible impress on two great nations of the Orient, China and Japan; in the first, by bringing to this country Yung Wing, who became an honored graduate of Yale, and, as the friend of Li Hung Chang, effected an immeasurable revolution in ideas by establishing the Chinese Educational Commission; in the second, by translating the Bible with Hepburn into Japanese, and, by his Christian diplomacy inducing Japan to send her princes to

us for education. He ranks with Verbeck in the opening of Japan; and one effect of his life work is seen in the large numbers of Japanese students who resort to Yale.

In later times, Frederick D. Greene was chief in securing sympathy and funds for the Armenian sufferers.

Among Yale's great missionary scholars have been Dr. Eli Smith, the "polyglot of Turkey;" David T. Stoddard, the brilliant scholar who refused invitations to join four American faculties, and devoted himself to the Persian Bible and Grammar; Stone who did a like work for the Zulus; Jessup in Syria; Pratt and Blodgett and White and Neal in China, Learned in Japan, and Scranton in Corea. In all, Yale men have translated the Bible into forty languages.

The missionary physicians have done wonders; Peter Parker, who "opened China to the Gospel at the point of his lancet," and Frank Van Allen, who so won the Hindus that they built for him one of the first hospitals in India, are examples.

In India, too, the Humes have done their great work, Robert Hume's relief measures during the famine of 1900 being on such a scale that a million dollars passed through his hands, and that he won the gratitude of millions of sufferers, causing Queen Victoria to give him the Kaisar-i-Hind gold medal.

Yale's missionaries have done some important diplomatic service, as Peter Parker, who secured at the ports permission to build hospitals and houses of worship; Dr. Blodgett, who influenced the Chinese emperor to favor foreigners; H. A. Homes, Secretary of Legation at the Sublime Porte. Dr. S. Wells Williams, who although not a graduate of Yale, was closely identified with her as a professor later, served nine terms as U. S. *chargé d'affaires* in China, and secured the famous "toleration clause" of the treaty of Tientsin,—a

clause which went into the British treaty, and since then has protected missionaries of every nation.

If courage has been needed, the Yale missionaries have not lacked it: such were Dyer Ball, whom the Chinese said "lived the Gospel;" Sherwood Eddy, holding his own among fierce Moslems; and Yale's martyr in the Boxer War, Horace Tracy Pitkin, who left wealth and culture to try to uplift China's millions, and gallantly died a dreadful death while protecting his fellow-countrywomen.

In Home Missions, the deeds done have been just as effectual, if not as picturesque; and in the development of Young Men's Christian Associations, Yale has been prominent. Her own is the largest college association in the country. It sent James B. Reynolds abroad to promote these associations among European universities, with such effect that in 1901, the World's Student Christian Federation comprised 621 associations in the United States, and 1,400 in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australasia. Gaylord in Paris, Hubbard in China, have established them; and to Dr. Frank K. Sanders, at the present time Dean of the Yale Divinity School, is owing the origin of these now extremely influential associations in Asia, since he formed the first one in Ceylon.

The unobtrusive missionary work done in New Haven by Yale undergraduates under the Young Men's Christian Association is full of direct and reflex benefit. For years the Yale Mission, which was started by Yale's famous pitcher, Stagg, has done acceptable organized work in city missions, boys' and men's clubs, Sunday Schools, and industrial classes; and has now reached the dignity of rearing its own building, paid for by graduates and undergraduates, mostly the latter.

From the Divinity School, the students go out for definite assistance to pastors and missions of city churches, thus placing such pecuniary relief as they may require on self-respecting business grounds of payment for service actually rendered.

Even a cursory glance at a Triennial Catalogue gives an idea of the part that Yale graduates have had in the world's work.

In the educational field, the number of professors and teachers whom she has sent out is too great for even a representative selection; but such names as Moses Stuart, Ethan Allen Andrews, Noah Webster, James E. Worcester, Henry Barnard, James Kingsley, James Hadley, F. A. P. Barnard, Samuel Johnson, Jonathan Dickinson, Noah Porter, Thomas A. Thacher, Thomas H. Gallaudet, must not be passed; while she has supplied presidents to other colleges beyond any other institution—the number, including most of her own, far exceeding one hundred, and nearly doubling that of Harvard even. Among her religious leaders she has sent out Jonathan Edwards, Joseph Bellamy, Samuel Hopkins, Samuel Seabury, Timothy Dwight, Lyman Beecher, Gardiner Spring, Nathaniel W. Taylor, Leonard Bacon, and Horace Bushnell, thus providing America with the two men who stand without dispute at the head of her religious thinkers, Edwards and Bushnell.

Of physicians and surgeons, a great company have distinguished themselves: Stearns, Knight, Mason Fitch Cogswell, Stillé, the Iveses, McClellan, Lusk, the Delafields, Beard, Prudden, McLane, Welch.

Among her great jurists are Chancellor Kent (who ranks next to Marshall), Oliver Wolcott, William Samuel Johnson, Philip and William Livingston, Abraham Baldwin, Jere-

miah Mason (Webster's great friend and opponent), Chancellor Runyon of New Jersey, John M. Clayton (of Clayton-Bulwer treaty fame), Lyman Hall, Charles J. McCurdy (who made a memorable improvement in our law by securing for accused persons the privilege of testifying for themselves), Lewis Morris, Morrison R. Waite, Roger Baldwin (who secured freedom for the Amistad captives). Oliver Ellsworth was for three years a Yale student, being graduated from Princeton.

The mass of her writers on special lines is so vast that selection is difficult; but among purely literary men may be mentioned Joel Barlow, John Pierpont, Nathaniel P. Willis, John G. C. Brainard, James G. Percival, George W. Smalley, Isaac H. Bromley, Edward Rowland Sill, Edmund Clarence Stedman, Donald G. Mitchell, while James Fenimore Cooper received from Yale all the academic education that he had.

For her own State she has provided twenty-five governors, and a very large number for others,—including New York's great governor, who came so near being President, Samuel J. Tilden,—besides Hunt for Porto Rico and Taft for the Philippines. In the Senate, the names of Henry C. Dawes, the friend of the Indian, and for years the Dean of the Senate, and Orrin S. Ferry, occur at once; and the list of public offices held by her sons would be too long to give here.

When so many have been patriotic in time of war, it is hard to name individuals; but Yale can never let die the memory of Nathan Hale; Theodore Winthrop, the first Union soldier to die in battle, John Griswold and Henry Camp, Edward Blake and Henry Dutton, all "knightly soldiers;" or Ward Cheney and George Miller, who died in the Spanish war, while Generals Wooster and Humphreys and

Huntington did great service in the War of the Revolution.

The world knows her men of science; Jedidiah Morse, the "Father of Geography," and his illustrious son, Samuel Finley Breese Morse of telegraph fame; Manasseh Cutler and David Bushnell, early workers; Benjamin Silliman, the great pioneer of chemical science in this country; Elias Loomis and William Chauvenet, the famous mathematicians; Lyman and Newton, the astronomers, Dana, the great geologist and friend of Agassiz; John P. Peters, the explorer of Nippur; Marsh, one of the few great palæontologists of the world; Josiah Willard Gibbs, the mathematical physicist, in the judgment of many of the best European observers "the greatest scientific discoverer that America has produced."

Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin, and Eli Whitney Blake, of the stone-breaker, both epoch-making inventions, Ethan Allen Andrews, of Latin Dictionary renown, James Hadley, the Greek scholar; Edward Elbridge Salisbury, a pioneer in Sanskrit; J. Hammond Trumbull, the only master of the aboriginal language; and many other linguistic scholars, were Yale graduates. So too were Henry Ellsworth, our first Commissioner of Patents, who did much to help Morse secure government support for the telegraph; Joshua Leavitt, the great reformer; Poole, whose Index has been a boon to every user of libraries or writer of articles, and Theodore Hinsdale, a brilliant member of the class of 1821, who was cut off in his prime, and yet lived long enough to originate in 1837 the famous Connecticut Joint Stock Act, which was in principle "copied by almost every State in the Union and by the English Limited Liability Act of 1855; and has had effects upon the industrial development of the world quite beyond calculation."

In the Cabinet have been Postmasters-General Meigs,

Granger, and Bissell; Noble, Secretary of the Interior; Badger, Williams, and Whitney, Secretaries of the Navy; Wayne McVeagh, Attorney-General; Alphonso Taft, Secretary of War and Postmaster-General; and his son, William H. Taft, our present Secretary of War; besides the brilliant John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, Secretary of State, and Vice-President; and the great Secretary of State Evarts, to whom we owe untold benefits gained by his diplomatic ability during the matter of the Alabama Arbitration, Johnson's Impeachment, and the Electoral Commission.

Among foreign ministers have been Silas Deane, our first to France; Joel Barlow, to France, and David Humphreys, to Spain; Ashbel Smith, to France and England; Edwards Pierrepont, to the latter country; Ralph Ingersoll, Alphonso Taft, and Cassius M. Clay, to Russia; Charles J. McCurdy, to Austria; Peter Parker, to China; Wayne McVeagh, to Turkey and Italy; Yung Wing, from China to the United States; Theodore Runyon, William Walter Phelps, and Andrew D. White, the last, one of the foremost living diplomats, to Germany.

In the United States Supreme Court she has had Henry Baldwin, William Strong, Waite, and Shiras; and she has Brown and Brewer at the present time.

From Stephen Johnson, who had a deep influence in promoting the Revolution, the signers of the Declaration of Independence, Lyman Hall, Wolcott, Philip Livingston, and Lewis Morris, and the members of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Johnson, Ingersoll, Livingston, and Baldwin,—to Judd, Attorney-General in Hawaii; Hunt, Governor of Porto Rico, and Taft in the Philippines,—Yale men have proved themselves able statesmen, and have been in the front of civilizing forces.

Yale has been conservative as becomes a large body; but she has not been a laggard in the march of improvement. She was the first to give the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; the first to have organized courses for graduate study; the first to have a Scientific School, an Art School, a School of Agriculture, a School of Music, a School of Forestry. Benjamin Silliman's work in establishing, in 1818, the "Journal of Science," was of the greatest importance in the advancement of scientific intercourse.

In the old laboratory, and since then in the Sloane Physical Laboratory, has been made a long-continued series of observations on atmospheric electricity which were published in connection with the United Signal Service, now the Weather Bureau; and there were worked out most important experiments on the cathode discharge and the analysis and spectroscopic examination of the gases contained in meteorites. The Sloane Physical Laboratory was the first building in this country especially devoted to physics, Harvard's being begun before this was quite finished; and it was an interesting sequence of the cathode experiments that in that building was accomplished the first reproduction in this country of the phenomena of the Roentgen ray.

In President Hadley's administration has been an evident aim to bind closer the ties between graduates and undergraduates, to develop ideas of civic responsibility both in the arrangements of courses and in the moral tone of the students, ideas of civic responsibility,—in short, not to produce scholars simply, but men.

Yale has passed the limit of a retreat for scholarly recluses, if indeed it was ever such; and has become an energizing force of national reputation, doing its part in the uplifting and regeneration of the world.

CHAPTER XII

Connecticut's Native Sons as College Presidents

THOSE who have established or promoted institutions of learning have ever been accounted benefactors of mankind; and of such men the State has supplied great numbers.

The memorable work at Princeton of the elder Aaron Burr, whose mental endowments were inherited by his son without his virtues, and of Jonathan Edwards, whose name, says Hallock, "contributed more to the fame of Princeton on the Continent than the name of any other official connected with its history," have been recounted on other pages. It is well known that Christian work for the Indians resulted in the founding of Dartmouth by Eleazar Wheelock, and of Hamilton, by Samuel Kirkland. Of equal moment were the pioneer labors of Manasseh Cutler for Ohio University; of Aaron Chapin, first president of Beloit College for thirty-six years; of Caleb Pitkin, the projector of Western Reserve College, and George E. Pierce, its first president who was a college graduate; of Theron Baldwin and Julian Sturtevaut, the founders of Illinois College, the latter teaching there for fifty-six years, and Edward Beecher, who was its first president.

The names of the Johnsons, father and son, who shaped the early history of King's, now Columbia, College, are also prominent. The minds of the Dutch and English settlers of New York had not been so firmly set on colleges as on more lucrative enterprises; so the middle of the eighteenth century had passed before an effectual movement was made to establish such an institution. Trinity Church was very generous in offering a large plot of land on the west side of Broadway, and as the project assumed definite shape, the eyes of its planners turned to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Johnson, as eminently fitted for the president. As a leader of

the rising Episcopal Church in America, he satisfied the stipulations that accompanied the gift of Trinity Church and were a part of the charter of the college, that the president should be "in communion with the Church of England, and that the morning and evening service of the college be the liturgy of the Church." His personal character and his attainments as a classical scholar, particularly in Hebrew, had given him an established reputation. At first he demurred at the undertaking, serious indeed for one no longer young; neither was he anxious to leave his pleasant home in Stratford; but in 1753 he consented provisionally, and in 1754, a charter having been secured, he definitely accepted. The charter liberally admitted on the Board of Governors, the ministers of the Reformed Protestant Dutch, the Ancient Lutheran, and the Presbyterian churches in New York; and Dr. Johnson's prospectus for pupils invited confidence in the conduct of the new college. He described it as designed "for the best good of the rising generations," and promised to be liberal in religious matters, to teach the learned languages, the "principles of goodness," the arts "of reasoning exactly, of writing correctly, of speaking eloquently," (the college that can do those three things now will achieve a great deal), to lead them from the study of Nature to the knowledge of themselves and of the God of Nature, and their Duty to Him, themselves, and one another." At first he constituted the entire teaching force, instructing his class of ten youths in the "Vestry-room of the school-house adjacent to Trinity Church;" but in 1755 his son William assisted him, and they did all the teaching satisfactorily. Soon Mr. Cutting was secured as a tutor; and later, Daniel Treadwell, a Harvard graduate, was appointed to take

charge of Mathematics and Natural History, and became the first professor in the college.

Dr. Johnson made great efforts to secure donations from England; but not with so great success as at home later, although in one instance he had a notable gift of 1,500 volumes from Dr. Bristow. These, with many others that would now be extremely valuable, including the gift from the University Press at Cambridge of a copy of every book that it printed, suffered greatly during the Revolution; and while some vanished utterly, others reappeared after an unexplained seclusion of thirty years.

Small-pox was then an ever-present and justly dreaded danger, being frequently epidemic. The only real safeguard was to have passed through the risk and horror of the disease, vaccination not having come into use, and the proper sanitary precautions not being understood or practiced. Dr. Johnson, not having had the disease, stood in great fear of it, and made it a condition of accepting his office, that "he should be allowed to retire to some place of safety in the country when the small-pox prevailed." The time arrived for claiming his privilege in 1757, when small-pox raged in New York, and Dr. Johnson, finding it so near to him on all sides that he and his family were shut up in the college quarters, fled to Stratford, where he was obliged to remain for more than a year, before the disease had abated sufficiently to permit his return. He came back in time to deliver an elegant and learned Latin oration at the first Commencement, in June 1758. In the next year he was driven to Stratford again by another outbreak of the same disease, and during this period the malady bereaved him of one of his family, his step son Benjamin Nicoll, one of the most energetic supporters of the

college. This great blow was followed by the death of Profesor Treadwell.

On his return, although he said the "city appeared to him like a kind of wilderness," he plunged into work to retrieve the losses caused by his prolonged although enforced absences. In 1760 he delivered a Latin address at the opening of the new College Hall, admired by all who saw it for its architectural excellence and its charming situation, one hundred and fifty yards from the bank of the Hudson. Being on an eminence, "totally unencumbered by any adjacent buildings," it commanded a prospect of magnificent sweep up the river and down to the Narrows. He secured from England Dr. Myles Cooper, who taught, and became his successor when in 1763, his wife having succumbed to the dreaded small-pox, he resigned and retired to live in Stratford with his son during his honored old age. A bell, organ, and many books had been secured, besides a royal brief by which collections were authorized in Great Britain for the colleges in New York and Pennsylvania; the iron crown which surmounted the steeple of College Hall is still preserved, but the name of King's disappeared during the war which was at hand. Dr. Samuel Johnson had many difficulties to encounter, and sometimes his classes melted away before they could be graduated; but he left the college with over thirty students. It is interesting to note that his frequent trips to Stratford were generally made by water. And in 1764 he appears as one of the contributors for completing the steeple and erecting a spire on the Chapel at Yale, his own old college home.

The last degree of King's College was given in 1776, and then, through the British occupancy of New York and the troubles of the war, it fell into a state of decay, and was not revived till 1784, when Dr. Samuel Johnson's son, William

Samuel Johnson, the pride of the Fairfield County bar, was unanimously called to be its head. He was the first president under its new name, Columbia, as his father had been the first of King's. William Samuel Johnson was a graduate of Yale, which had given to him her first degree of LL.D., as she had given her first degree of divinity to his father. The son had had wider opportunities than the father, was of distinguished ability, and gave a fresh impulse to the half-extinct institution. With Sherman and Ellsworth, he formed the great trio sent by Connecticut to the Constitutional Convention, that meeting-place for the greatest minds of the land; and he rightly felt that duty called him to its sessions as much as to the class-room.

The first Commencement of Columbia, in 1789, was graced by the presence of Washington, of Adams, and of the U. S. Senate and House. Medical instruction was connected with the institution, leading to the College of Physicians and Surgeons; in 1793 James Kent, afterwards the great Chancellor, was made Professor of Law; the Legislature granted money for books, apparatus, buildings and salaries, and prosperity smiled in various ways. President Johnson, the famous lawyer and orator, instructed in "grammar and proper pronunciation," and in fact, paid much attention to the cultivation of graceful and forcible language and of literary taste. The influence of his reputation and example were of the greatest benefit to the college during his term of sixteen years. In 1800 he resigned, and retired like his father to their beloved Stratford, where he passed the remainder of his life, with mind vigorous till his death in his ninety-third year.

Another honored son of Guilford, Abraham Baldwin, carried the fire from the Yale hearth to the University of Georgia, which he founded. He was one of the leading

spirits of his time, admired and respected in whatever he did. Graduated from Yale in 1772, he became tutor there for the greater part of four years, studying theology in the meantime, and was evidently regarded as a promising preacher. The war drew him into the army as a chaplain in Parsons' Brigade, from 1779 till 1781, having previously served there temporarily. The war over, he declined the offer of a professorship at Yale, and decided that the law was his profession. Having been admitted to the Fairfield County bar, he was induced by General Greene to go to Georgia. There his merits were as quickly recognized as they had been at home; and it was while he was in the State Legislature there, in 1784, that he proposed the plan of a university for the State. He drew up its charter, secured for it an endowment of 40,000 acres of land, and although not actively teaching, was President of the Board of Trustees until 1801.

He was one of the eminent members of the Constitutional Convention, and to him we are indebted for many of the essential clauses of the U. S. Constitution. At one time he did notable service, when, the Convention being on the point of disbanding for lack of agreement, he decided by his vote the question of equal representation in the Senate from the different States. He also voted for the present site of the National Capitol.

The Constitution, to which he had so much contributed, having become the law of the land, he was sent to represent Georgia in the first Congress; and in 1799 went to the Senate, where he remained till his death, which occurred in Washington in 1807. The country could ill afford to lose such a man at fifty-three. Twice had he served as presiding officer of the Senate, and his last illness was the first time in which he had failed to be at his post during his many years of

service in Congress. His private life was as admirable as his public services. He was very charitable, and had been a good brother, supporting and chiefly educating his six half-brothers and sisters, among whom were the wife of Joel Barlow; and Henry Baldwin, the celebrated jurist. His hold on his adopted State was as strong as it was quickly acquired, and his memory is perpetuated by the name of Baldwin County, while Connecticut esteems him one of her most eminent sons.

Union College owes much to the indefatigable exertions of Eliphalet Nott, a native of Ashford, and graduate of Brown University, who after years of preaching and working in the half-settled regions around Otsego Lake, and in Albany, became the president of the college, which was then young, poor, and struggling to acquire the buildings and apparatus necessary for its existence. Dr. Nott devoted himself to building it up, with such success that 4,000 students were graduated under him. Since he was identified with the great reforms of the day, it seems strange to us that he obtained from the New York Legislature, for the benefit of his college, permission for a lottery, which he managed ably for many years; but it was in accordance with custom then. He was a fine teacher, and on the fiftieth anniversary of the college, six hundred of his students assembled and testified their affection for him. Besides his literary gifts, he had a strong aptitude for practical affairs, and showed himself a true son of Connecticut by taking out thirty patents for improvements in heating apparatus. Among them was one for the first stove for burning anthracite coal, which bore his name and was much used. He completed his effectual aid to Union College by endowing it with property valued at $500,000.

Another valued officer of Union College was a native of Danbury, Laurens Perseus Hickok, who had been the succes-

sor of Lyman Beecher in Litchfield, and had held professorships in Western Reserve College and Auburn Theological Seminary before he went to Union. During his service there as professor and president, he wrote many works on psychology.

John Jason Owen, the eminent Greek scholar, was born in Colebrook, and like Hickok, was a graduate of Middlebury College. He did much for the New York Free Academy as professor and vice-president, and he continued in the latter office when it became the "Free College of the City of New York."

Amherst was another young college that was put on its feet by the devotion of Heman Humphrey, born in West Simsbury and graduated from Yale; while the uplift given to it by the brothers Julius H. and Laurens Clarke Seelye is well-known. The life of Julius Seelye was identified with Amherst, for there he took his first degree, there he long taught as professor of Moral Philosophy, and there he presided for fifteen years, with much resulting prosperity. He introduced the peculiar system of self-government by which matters of deportment are decided by the college senate. He was at the front in public and religious matters, and yet found time to write important philosophical works. Laurens Clarke Seelye would be well-known as a scholar in Celtic Literature, even if building up Smith College from the beginning to its present condition of high prosperity and overflowing numbers had not been his life-work, to which he brought a happy combination of tact and executive ability, combined with dignity and scholarship. And from Connecticut have gone three presidents of Williams;—the first, Ebenezer Fitch of Norwich, took his degree at Yale in the troubled year of 1777, and went back as a tutor after the war had ended; and as

preceptor of Williamstown Academy brought it to such prosperity, that in 1793 it was chartered as a college, he being its president. His remarkable gifts as an instructor, and his good management made the young college flourish for fifteen years, when, some disturbances arising in the faculty, he resigned.

The brilliant preacher and theologian, always lucid in statement and impressive in his oratory, Edward Dorr Griffin, was born in East Haddam, and distinguished himself at Yale in his class of 1790. His career at Andover and the Park Street Church in Boston, where his celebrated "Park Street Lectures" were delivered, gave him a great name to take to Williams as its president. From 1821 to 1836 he was very efficient in that position. The third Connecticut man to fill that place was Franklin Carter, who was born in Waterbury, and was connected by three years of undergraduate study and a professorship, with Yale, although his degree was taken at Williams. He has had much to do with missionary and linguistic bodies, and was the first president of the Modern Language Association. Leaving Williams in 1896, he became the head of the Clark Institution for the Deaf in Northampton, for which the charter had been secured by another Connecticut man, Lewis J. Dudley, who served as president of its board of Trustees for many years. Among many who have done similar service may be mentioned Horace Holley of Salisbury, who was the President of Transylvania University in Kentucky; and Charles G. Finney of Warren, whose fame as a revivalist extended to England, for whom the Broadway Tabernacle was built. and for whom his friends established Oberlin College, the great work of which he conducted for years. Dr. Jared Sparks, of whom more hereafter, was a professor of history

at Harvard, and for four years was President of that university.

Cyrus Northrop, a true son of Connecticut, having served her in ways political, editorial, and educational, and having been a professor at Yale for eleven years, has done honor to his State in expanding and strengthening the University of Minnesota, of which he was elected president in 1881.

Norwich was the home of Daniel C. Gilman, a Yale graduate of 1852, whose varied career has made him very prominent in educational affairs. Besides having been librarian at Yale and a professor in the Scientific School, and having held many other positions of importance in the State and out of it, he has been the president of the University of California, the first president of Johns Hopkins University, and since 1902, of the Carnegie Institution in Washington, and has moreover, given his influence as trustee to such philanthropic enterprises as the Peabody and Slater funds for education in the South. His work in California, and particularly at Johns Hopkins, where he organized graduate study in such a way as to give an impulse to colleges all over the country, has brought to him a national reputation.

One of the most perfectly rounded characters of his time was William Adams, who was identified for half a century with the best interests of New York, as the pastor of the Central, afterwards the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, the head of the Presbyterian divines in New York, and the president of Union Theological Seminary. His birthplace was Colchester, his college home Yale; and from his father, Dr. John Adams, the president of Phillips Academy, Andover, he derived the mental habits that made him an accurate scholar in ancient and modern languages, and a leader in affairs. Nature and education were generous to

him; he had a commanding figure and presence, a fine voice, and all the gifts of an orator; his address and manners were courtly, his heart was filled with kind and noble impulses. He was the first to read and correctly interpret the inscriptions in the Catacombs of Rome; he was a peacemaker in the hot disputes between Old-School and New-School Theology; and he did not disdain to apply all his brilliant powers to the personal instruction of students in the institution over which he was urged to preside, making trite subjects seem fresh and inspiring by his enthusiastic treatment. He died in 1880, greatly lamented.

Among the one hundred and five college presidents whom Yale has furnished to the country, eighteen have been the first presidents, most of them natives of the State; and it must not be forgotten that on her own roll of illustrious presidents following Daggett,—Stiles, the younger Dwight, Day, Porter, Hadley,—all have been of Connecticut birth and breeding.

CHAPTER XIII

Literature in the Nineteenth Century

SINCE the first scholars and writers in the State had been divines, it was not strange that the influence of theology over authorship lingered long. After the flashes of the "Hartford Wits" had died away, a period followed when almost all the noteworthy writing was done by the ministers. And they were men of might, trained in such schools of the prophets as those of Bellamy and Hopkins and Smalley; and they were accustomed by their position as religious and social leaders to ready expression of vigorous thought.

Such was Lyman Beecher, great father of great children, who, on the bleak Litchfield hills and in the seething discussions of Boston, brought up his children in such fashion that they became a power for good in their generation.

Possibly his life did not seem to him successful: it was at least full of struggle. Descended from one of the original settlers of New Haven, he was graduated from Yale in 1797, and after a brief settlement in Easthampton, Long Island, went to Litchfield, where he remained for sixteen years. Dr. Beecher was a preacher of powerful sermons, rather than a writer of monumental works. In those days, the habit of taking overmuch strong drink, perhaps somewhat excused then by the inadequate provision for meeting the inclemency of the climate, had gained a dangerous hold on society, counting even ministers of the Gospel among its victims; and when Dr. Beecher lifted up his voice against it in his six sermons on intemperance, a wonderful effect was produced. These sermons were sent all over the United States, had many editions in England, were translated into several languages, and after fifty years, still attracted readers.

Removing to Boston as the pastor of the Hanover Street Church, he encountered the Unitarian movement in its

aggressive stage; and so strong was the feeling against such rebutting influence as his that when his church burned down, the firemen refused to put out the fire. Again at Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, he struggled for twenty years to found a Western institution, only to be defeated at last by the triumphant pro-slavery party. Here, all unknown, were influences that were shaping the future "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Dr. Beecher's sermon on "Duelling" at the time of Hamilton's death at the hands of Aaron Burr, was very impressive; and his "Views on Theology" and "Political Atheism" were read with much attention. Dying in 1863, he sleeps in New Haven, the place of his birth. Dr. Abiel Holmes, a native of Woodstock, although long a prominent Congregational minister in Cambridge, was remarkable alike for charm of manner and for learning. His memoir of his father-in-law, Ezra Stiles, and his "American Annals," a "pioneer work in American history," disclosed that literary talent which descended to his illustrious son, Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Some of these divines developed a literary talent that was most useful in establishing certain periodicals; as Dr. Chauncey A. Goodrich, the beloved professor of pastoral theology at Yale, who established the "Christian Quarterly Spectator," besides writing much for other periodicals, publishing a Greek Grammar, and Greek and Latin Lessons, preparing a new edition of the Bible, and carrying on a vast work in Webster's Dictionary. So, too, Samuel F. Jarvis, of Middletown, another graduate of Yale, after officiating as rector of churches in New York and Boston, and as the distinguished professor of Oriental languages and literature at Trinity College, was for some years the editor of the "Gospel Advocate," and the Secretary and Treasurer of the Christian Knowledge Society. He did a great work as Church his-

toriographer. Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor, the impressive preacher and brilliant leader of the New Haven school of theology, left no literary monument of his genius save some published lectures and essays.

A remarkable group of Oriental scholars appeared in Connecticut early in the nineteenth century. Of the profound scholarship of James W. Kingsley, mention has already been made in connection with his work for Yale College; contemporary with him were Moses Stuart, Eli Smith, and Edward Robinson. Moses Stuart, a native of Wilton, studied law and was a tutor at Yale, after his graduation there in 1799, before he decided to study theology. For four years, 1806-10, the pastor of the Center Church in New Haven, his rising fame as a Hebrew scholar took him to the Theological Seminary at Andover, as the professor of sacred literature. There his zeal overcame many obstacles that beset the path of scholars in those days. The German savants had gone much farther than he; but the results of their researches were in a tongue unknown to him, and at that time much more difficult than the dead languages to acquire here: but he learned German that he might know Hebrew better; and in 1813 felt prepared to make a grammar in that tongue. No Hebrew type being available, it remained in manuscript, and his pupils copied it, for some time. Even after the proper type were procured, no compositor could be found who was competent to use them; so he turned printer and printed the book with his own hands. He must have felt a triumphant sense of ownership when it was done. His second Hebrew grammar won aboundant recognition all over the United States, and was republished by Dr. Pusey of Oxford. The enthusiasm of his nature inspired all who came under the sway of his personality, and has made his name a

living one for generations after his death. His voluminous writings were mostly in the line of his special study, commentaries on and interpretations of Old Testament books, although he also dealt with the political and religious questions of the day.

Two years later at Yale was Eli Smith, who remained there for another degree, then went to Andover to study theology, and while there took up his life work of missionary scholarship in Oriental languages; thence he went out to Malta, to superintend the printing establishment of the American Board of Foreign Missions there. With Harrison Gray Otis Dwight, he established the missions in Syria and Armenia; and his extensive travels in those countries, as well as in Greece and in Persia, increased his opportunities for studying the Oriental tongues. The Arabic language, then used by over 60,000,000 people, had no version of the Bible; and to such a translation Dr. Smith directed his energies. His charming wife, Sarah Lanman Huntington of Norwich, assisted him in this work as well as in the mission work, until her early death in 1836.

Like Stuart, Dr. Smith conquered material difficulties. Arabic type that satisfied his exact scholarship were not to be had; and accordingly, he prepared with his own hands, from a fine text of the Koran, models from which, under his superintendence, the mission printer, Mr. Homan Hallock, cast the type. The first font was made in Leipzig by Tauchnitz; the others, by Hallock, in the United States. The result was that Eli Smith conferred on sacred literature an inestimable benefit in the shape of a more perfect Arabic translation of the sacred volume than had ever been seen before. It was after fifteen years of earnest mission work in Syria that he took his memorable trip in Palestine with Dr.

Robinson, to whom his intimate knowledge of the language, and familiarity with the people made him an inestimable coadjutor. After that, eight years of intense labor on the Arabic Bible completed the New Testament, the Pentateuch, the greater part of the minor prophets of Isaiah; and then death cut short his work, which was completed by Dr. Cornelius Van Dyke.

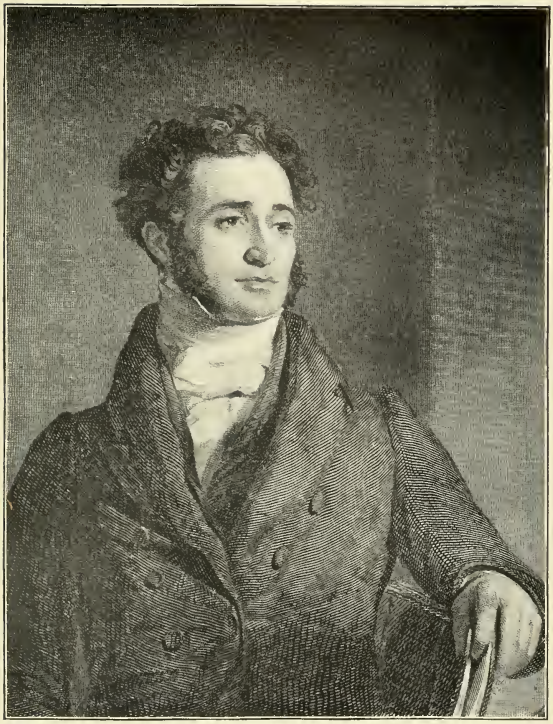
In the early years of the nineteenth century, a shy, studious boy was growing up in Southington, who was destined to be closely associated with Stuart and Smith, and yet to win the most renown of the trio—Edward Robinson. He placed American scholarship on an equal rank with the highest in Europe, judged by German standards even, and has been called the most German of English-speaking scholars. Hamilton College can claim him as her son; and it was at Andover that he was inspired by the enthusiasm of Stuart, who was to be so linked with him as the founder of modern exegetical theology. His work at Andover, in preparing a Greek grammar; translating a Hebrew-Latin lexicon into English; establishing the "Biblical Repository," which, combined later with the "Bibliotheca Sacra," brought to American homes and scholars the latest German researches in English dress; bringing out the "Dictionary of the Bible" enlarged from Calmet, and the small one, of which thousands of copies went over the country,—was of great benefit to the Christian world; but it is most indebted to him for his pioneer work in "Biblical Researches in Palestine."

This was the result of carrying out a darling project; for when he accepted a chair in Union Seminary, in New York, it was with the provision that he should be allowed to first devote some years to careful travel in the Holy Land. Supported by the able coöperation of Eli Smith, he took to the

work the treasures of his own learning, of minute and prolonged study of the Bible, and of habits of critical observation. As Dean Stanley has said, he was the first to go to Palestine so equipped as to see with his own eyes, and not through the eyes of others. Consequently, his first book was hailed with the highest praise, on both sides of the Atlantic, and time has not dimmed the luster of his renown. A second period of research produced a second volume, on the "Physical Geography of Palestine," which he designed to be one wing, so to speak, of a harmonious whole which should be a treasure-house of systematic and exhaustive knowledge of the geography, history, and topography of the Holy Land. But his eyesight failed; he could do no more; and to his learned German wife he owed the publication of the volume on Physical Geography. His great project was broken off, but his work had been so thorough and fundamental that it has remained a monument of American research, scholarship, and exploration.

These men, who contributed so largely to the advancement and renown of American Biblical scholarship, recommended the cause of learning to all men by the uprightness of their daily lives. The influence of Kingsley on the character of Yale College has been pointed out; Eli Smith still brings honor to the name of missionary; and what Andover would have been without Stuart and Robinson, it is hard to imagine.

In keeping with the prevalent interest in divines and divinity was the work of William Buel Sprague, a native of Andover, who graduated from Yale in 1815, just when the splendor of pulpit eloquence was potent in public affairs. Himself a successful preacher for forty years, receiving degrees from Yale, Columbia, and Princeton, his environ-



From the Painting by T. Sully

Jared Sparks

ment enabled him to collect the material for the nine volumes of his "Annals of the American Pulpit." This work occupied twelve years, and secured in permanent form precious biographical material. Dr. Sprague was a famous collector of religious pamphlets, with which he enriched the Albany State Library. To Amherst College he presented the letters of its patron saint, General Lord Amherst; and to Harvard College, the papers of General Thomas Gage. His collection of nearly 100,000 autographs is said to be the largest in the world.

Another voluminous treasurer of annals and memories of the past was Jared Sparks, who was born in Willington, shortly after the first inauguration of Washington, whose life he was to write. After some years of teaching, editing, and preaching, he became the editor of the *North American Review,* finally purchasing and conducting it from 1824 to 1831. In 1821, being chaplain of the U. S. House of Representatives, he was fortunate in securing Washington's papers at Mount Vernon. The interest excited by them led him to Europe for investigation; and there, on a second trip, he found the map containing the "red line" which was important in settling the New England boundary dispute in 1842. His "Life and Writings of Washington" consumed nine years and filled twelve volumes. He edited the works of Franklin, and left a mass of material for future writers in his reminiscences of eminent men and recorded conversations with them. His honorable connection with Harvard University has been described. Probably he will be best remembered by the "American Biographies" which he edited, comprising, in the first set, twenty-six subjects; in the second, thirty-four. While he has been accused of too much liberality in admitting material, yet it must be acknowledged that he

did a great service in collecting many facts that would otherwise have been lost to the world.

The growing power of the Methodists received a strong impulse from the well-directed zeal of Nathan Bangs (1778-1862) who gave up teaching and surveying to edit the *Christian Advocate* and *Methodist Quarterly Review*. He was the founder and first Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, and for a year was the president of Wesleyan University. His works, theological, biographical, and historical, fill many volumes; and among them is a history of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

From Connecticut, too, went out Jesse Buel, who demonstrated by actual experiment that there is hope for the waste lands of the country; for by deep tillage he brought a dry, sandy farm near Albany to a high degree of fertility. As a means of instructing and informing farmers, the *Cultivator,* founded by him, did great good.

Another church historian was William Henry Foote (1794-1869), born in Colchester, but spending most of his life as an educator and Presbyterian clergyman in West Virginia. His sketches of the Presbyterian church in Virginia, of North Carolina, and his most important work, "The Huguenots," a history of the Reformed French Church cover ground not often trodden.

Living to a green old age as rector of St. Thomas's Church in New Haven, the Rev. Dr. Eben Edwards Beardsley, who was born in Stepney, and passed his life in Connecticut, became in local and church history an acknowledged authority. His scholarly habits and experience, and his calm, unruffled judgment of men and things, fitted him peculiarly for such works as his admirable Lives of Samuel Johnson, the first president of King's College; of William Samuel

Johnson, president of Columbia College, and of Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, first Episcopal bishop of Connecticut. His learning and ability brought him degrees from Trinity College and Columbia University, and he was for years the historian of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut. He died in 1881, greatly beloved, honored, and missed.

The talent of the Dwight family was seen in Dr. Sereno Edwards Dwight, who published the "Life and Works of Jonathan Edwards;" in Dr. Benjamin Woolsey Dwight, who wrote the first treatise on "Chronic Debility of the Stomach;" and in Benjamin Woodbridge Dwight, who compiled very careful and extensive genealogical works on the "Dwight Family" and the "Strong Family."

In the middle and later part of the nineteenth century, the intellectual atmosphere was fairly illuminated by some divines of extraordinary endowments—Nathaniel W. Taylor, Leonard Bacon, Horace Bushnell. There was so much besides the literary element in the greatness of these men that they may be classed in many ways; but while they rose beyond the sphere of mere authorship, it is in their published writings that they most easily speak to succeeding generations.

Leonard Bacon was of Connecticut family, parentage, and residence, although he happened to be born in Detroit, his father then being in the van as a missionary to the Indians there; and his energetic individuality so impressed itself on his surroundings that he still seems to be identified with them. He was a classmate of President Woolsey, having entered college at fourteen. He afterwards studied theology at Andover. Dr. Taylor, whose commanding talents, fine voice, symmetrical face, figure, and character, had made him the very model of perfection to his people, had resigned his charge as the pastor of the Center Church in New Haven;

and the boyish young minister, Leonard Bacon, assumed the responsibility of being his successor when he was barely twenty-three years old. He must have been aroused to put forth all his powers in such a pulpit, and in preaching to a congregation that included Noah Webster, Eli Whitney, James Hillhouse, Dr. Jonathan Knight, Stephen Twining, and such lawyers as Seth P. Staples, Samuel J. Hitchcock, and Dennis Kimberly; and others eminent in the college, in the town, and in the professions. His faculties responded to the demand by outpouring thought of living force, clothed in a style unsurpassed for elegance, flexibility, and power. Words were his trained servants, and arranged themselves at his bidding without hesitation, in sentences epigrammatic or melodious as best suited the idea to be conveyed.

To commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of his church, he prepared "Thirteen Historical Discourses," which have become classics in New England history. With patience unwearied, he sought his material at fountain head; and by the alchemy of his genius transformed dry records into thrilling accounts of men and women who breathed again with the living glow of his historic insight. This masterly performance, accomplished at a time when it was possible to catch the garments of the vanishing Past, and sketch her picture among the shadows, established his reputation as a writer, and placed him with Henry Dexter and J. Hammond Trumbull among authorities in early local history.

His activity overflowed beyond pulpit and pastoral work of the most acceptable nature, into paths of outside literary effort; and many an article, sometimes written at a heat, appeared in the *Christian Spectator,* in the *New Englander,*— of which he was practically the founder, contributing to it sixty-three articles in eighteen years,—and the *Independent,*

of which he was one of the four original editors; a Connecticut man, Henry C. Bowen, being another of the four, and for many years the owner. In these and other periodicals, he was a champion of many reforms, of home and foreign missions; and often perceptibly directed public opinion and action. The anti-slavery movement did not please him at first; but when the Civil War brought him face to face with the great question, he gave his influence on that side. As his life deepened and broadened his experience, his words gained in value. He knew the New England families well, and was deeply versed in the history of Congregationalism, so that his "Genesis of the New England Churches" is a valuable authority. His last completed article was a charming sketch of society in the latter part of the eighteenth century; and on his table, left when he went to his last sleep, was an unfinished paper on the Mormon question. His facility with the pen did not cause him to lean on it too much, for he had equal ease in "thinking on his feet," and was always a prompt debater, and a powerful, witty, and effective public speaker.

Forcible in argument, he yet had sympathy with both joy and sorrow, and was a peacemaker; indeed, the memorable and bitter dispute between the "Taylorites" and "Tylerites" was ended by one of his "Views and Reviews," in which he showed twenty-six vital points of agreement between the two. His name was heard all over the world. Pope Gregory XVI. issued a bull against one of his forcible productions; and, a more momentous tribute to his pen, Lincoln told him that his essay on "Slavery Discussed" converted him to the Abolition movement. He retained his office in the church until 1866, when forty-one years of ceaseless activity made it best for him to resign and accept the position of pastor *emeritus*. With Yale College he was intimately connected, as a member of the

Corporation for years, and in the later part of his life, as a professor in the Divinity School. His active form, bright eye, and cheerful demeanor made his presence in his sunny old age everywhere welcome. Some of his hymns are lasting favorites, as "Hail, tranquil hour of closing day," and the Forefathers' hymn, "Oh God, beneath thy guiding hand." It has been said of him that he "never proved unequal to an emergency;" and his memorial tablet declares justly that "the world was better for his having lived in it."

This was the famous period when the great thinker from Litchfield County, Horace Bushnell, was leading on religious thought to new views of everlasting truths. Many disapproved his utterances, some trembled at his fearless handling of doctrine; but a few years enabled the world to see him clearly after the mists of controversy had melted away; and now he ranks unquestioned as, next to Jonathan Edwards, America's greatest thinker on religion. He was born near Bantam Lake, in Litchfield, in 1802; and he had the great blessing of a father and a mother unswervingly faithful to their ideals of right. The careers of Bacon and Bushnell, born in the same year, were parallel in many points, but had some wide divergences. Each graduated from Yale with distinction; each served only one church as a pastor, and that during the whole working period of his life; and each was a central figure in one of the two capitals of the State, with far-reaching influence. But Bushnell entered college at twenty-one, Bacon at fourteen; Bushnell had planned and studied for the law, had been a favorite tutor in his own college, called the most popular man next to President Day, and had won instant success (in New York, as an editor of the *Journal of Commerce*) before, through great doubts and struggles, he had accepted Christianity in his twenty-ninth

year. Then he cast aside the nearly-completed law studies, and entered the Divinity School some years after Bacon had begun to preside over the Center Church.

While Dr. Bacon was blessed with vigorous health, Dr. Bushnell was fighting a long battle against disease. By Dr. Bushnell's marriage with Miss Mary Apthorp, the descendant of John Davenport, he was linked with one of the founders of the New Haven colony; and when Dr. Bacon married Miss Catherine Terry he became connected with some of the leading families of Hartford. Through these similiarities and dissimiliarities, the lives of these remarkable contemporaries flowed on in harmony and friendship.

In 1833 Dr. Bushnell was ordained as pastor of the North Church in Hartford. Very quickly it was discerned that his people had secured no ordinary preacher. His eloquence and spiritual insight gained for him never-failing attention; and his published writings soon aroused the interest of the world. His convictions were his own, and expressed fearlessly; but he was truly modest, and any posing for effect would have been abhorred by him.

His power of expression was remarkable. He never seemed at a loss for the word that exactly conveyed his meaning; and whether in public address or in the most informal private conversation, his language flowed as pure, steady, and sparkling as one of his Litchfield County streams, bearing the original and uplifting thought that made him to many men on both sides of the Atlantic the most inspiring spiritual force of the nineteenth century.

From his heights, he had visions of Truth which were not such as those seen from the well-worn path, and his portrayal of what he saw aroused a storm of hostile criticism. "Christian Nurture" brought on the general engagement in the

theological field. It was widely read and discussed, and although in a way going back to old doctrines, it brought down on the author's head severe disapproval from the "old-school" men; and for many years, everything that Bushnell wrote or said was subjected to suspicious scrutiny. For years, many of his ministerial brethren felt constrained to refuse to affiliate with him. This was to him a trial probably keener than he admitted, while enduring it; but he bore it with astonishing courtesy and patience, and was ready to hold out the olive-branch first. None could dispute the matchless beauty of his style, the soaring nature of his thought, the purity and lovableness of his character, or the value of his services as a citizen; and as the religious world loosened its prejudices, the heresy seemed to fade out from his writings, and only the uplifting influence of genius has remained. Among his books, "God in Christ," "Christian Theology," "The Moral Uses of Dark Things," "The Vicarious Sacrifice," "Work and Play," all excited great interest. "Nature and the Supernatural" perhaps ranks as the culminating thought of his life. His last published work was "Forgiveness and Law." Dr. Bushnell was often called on to deliver addresses on great occasions; and he never failed to bring to his audiences such treasures of his mind and eloquence as made the occasion memorable. Of these "Barbarism the First Danger," given in Boston, New York, and many other places in behalf of the American Home Missionary Society; the address at New Haven, commemorative of the Yale men who fell in the Civil War; and that prose idyll, the "Age of Homespun," delivered at the Litchfield Centennial Celebration in 1851, made a profound impression. The last is by good judges considered one of the most charming things he ever wrote. In it he portrayed the vanishing simplicity and

integrity of country-life, in the glow of retrospective fondness; and we who read do not wonder that his crowded audience hung on his words spell-bound for two hours.

Dr. Bushnell's classic features and fine figure—wasted by disease—to be sure, in later years, but always animated by the beautiful spirit within, seemed to fit his character; he was very companionable, said to have been at home in any counting-room in Hartford; a lover of children, of music, of all things of beauty. Nature was to him a very fount of inspiration; he loved to steal a morning-hour for work in his little garden; and when the search for health drove him afar, his observing eye was alert for earth's charms. While he was in California, the presidency of the prospective Berkeley University was offered to him, as indeed had been that of Middlebury College; and although he did not decide to leave his work in Hartford, he bestowed much time and thought in planning for the infant college.

Surely one reason for the unvarying respect that Dr. Bushnell commanded in his own city must have been that he was never in debt, having wisely resolved early in life to live unflinchingly on his income. He had little to do with public organizations, and yet was most fortunate in moving public opinion. His feeling of responsibility towards the city that was his home was so constant and effectual that his good citizenship is one of his most universally recognized traits. One of his sermons, "Prosperity our Duty," had much to do with the introduction of the Hartford Water Works. And to his prophetic vision, tact and taste, wise management, and unselfish, untiring effort, are owing the transformation of an unsightly dumping-place and railroad yard into the gem of Hartford, the beautiful little park that bears his name.

The theological controversies and charges of heresy

passed like the black clouds on a summer day; but the love, the veneration, the proud sense of possession in their famous citizen, were permanent feelings in his city and State. The affection that was felt for him by all classes was never disclosed more plainly than when Dr. Bushnell lay on his dying-bed, and the Common Council having passed the resolutions by which the park was to bear his name forever, the poor Irishman who was the messenger of the tidings that came just in time to give the intended pleasure, added: "This is how we all wanted it to be." Dr. Bushnell passed away in 1876; and yet his spirit is potent still. He strove to "find and maintain the truth," and this he did with those rare gifts of eloquence, of imagination, of the very flame of genius, that have made him one of the lasting glories of the State.

Of a different type was Samuel A. Goodrich, the brother of Chauncey A. Goodrich, endeared to generations of children as Peter Parley, who had the happy faculty of administering knowledge to youthful minds in an entertaining way. His facile pen enabled him to achieve 170 volumes, 116 of them bearing the name of Peter Parley, a name that was unlawfully borrowed by many another less gifted writer. Besides these biographies, histories, and schoolbooks of various kinds, Mr. Goodrich edited "Merry's Museum" and "Parley's Magazine," both for young people. He traveled much, lived in Paris, for some years as our consul, had charming homes in this country, and generally saw the sunny side of life. The admirers of Hawthorne must always link his memory with the *Token,* edited by Mr. Goodrich from 1828 to 1842; for in those dear old-fashioned annuals, may be seen, often without the author's name, some of Hawthorne's famous tales, since "Twice told."

There are no very great poets to chronicle, although the

From the Painting by Alexander

Lydia Huntley Sigourney.

muse has not been without gifted votaries. Mrs. Lydia Huntley Sigourney, from the day when she left her birthplace, Norwich, till the end of her long life in Hartford, made a definite impression on her world, perhaps as much by her lofty character and unfailing goodness as by the quality of her poetry. Even if her graceful lines did not burn with the perennial fire, her gracious personality, overflowing into kind thoughts and good deeds, has made her memory fragrant. The fact that the Connecticut house at the St. Louis Exposition was modeled after the fine old Sigourney house in Hartford, "with its columns facing the rising sun," is a pleasant tribute to that refined, high-bred life of which it was the center for long years.

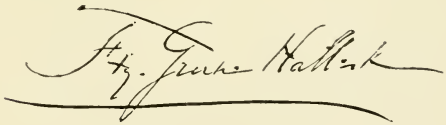
Mrs. Sigourney was well-endowed (she read at three, and wrote verse at seven), was well-educated, well-married, well-cared for all her life; but she had not a lazy fibre in her nature, and wrote as indefatigably as if her bread depended on it. During her life, extending from 1791 to 1865, she wrote partly or wholly 46 books and 2,000 articles, for over 300 periodicals. Her works were translated into French, and were much read in the Old World. Their titles seem hopelessly old-fashioned,—"Weeping Willow," "Whispers to a Bride," "Letters to Young Ladies." The last reached five London editions; and the Queen of the French expressed her admiration by sending her a diamond bracelet.

Of much more power was another Hartford woman, Mrs. Rose Terry Cooke, the author of a singularly captivating volume of poems "The Two Villages" is best known but far from her best poem; and of stories of New England life, many of which go to the heart of its individuality. A deeper strain was sounded in the poems of Laura Bushnell, the daughter of Horace Bushnell.

Connecticut's poet with the most glowing spark of the truly divine fire was Fitz-Greene Halleck, whose "Marco Bozzaris" has thrilled generations of schoolboys; whose "Burns" is a classic; and a verse of whose lines to his friend Joseph Rodman Drake is equally so. He was a New London man, although he lived in New York for seventeen years as the clerk of John Jacob Astor. He had a happy turn for society verse; but his eight volumes of melodious poems, including "Fanny," his most ambitious one,—the one poem modeled on Byron's "Don Juan" which rises above a mere echo, and is worth reading for itself,—did not impair his faithfulness in business; and the Astors, father and son, provided for his support through life.

James A. Hillhouse, of New Haven, wrote some poems of merit, "Sachem's Wood" and "Percy's Masque." Through the same New Haven streets which inspired these tranquil musings, stalked the erratic genius, James Gates Percival, the poet-geologist, who could at times, show that he had the divine spark, and again, the exact scientific mind; and yet loved to shut himself up in a gloomy house of which the only entrance was in the rear, and of that, the key was in his pocket! He was born in Kensington, his father being a noted doctor there; and he was precocious, reading an astronomy at five, writing an heroic poem at fourteen, and distinguishing himself in poetry and mathematics at Yale, where he was graduated at the head of his class, in 1815, his tragedy being performed on Commencement Day. In spite of his eccentricities, he had a many-sided mind, and was almost equally eminent as poet, geologist, philologist, botanist, chemist, geographer and mathematician, besides having decided musical ability and reading ten languages easily. The turning wheel of his strange life brings him in view as a professor

From a drawing by Henry Inman



of chemistry at West Point, as a surgeon in the U. S. Navy, as helping Webster on his great dictionary, as making, with Professor Charles N. Shepard a geological survey of Connecticut, which was a marvel of learning, and a most valuable survey on the mining regions in Wisconsin, his last work.

His poems, "Clio," "Prometheus," "The Coral Grove," and "Seneca Lake," although elevated in style, are rather diffuse and abstract; in fact, he was really greater in science than in poetry. He delighted in hunting to its lair some hidden philological matter, or in any mental task that piqued him; but to his fellows he turned his unlovely side. Shy, untidy, of a difficult temper, this strange being seems to have belonged to the age of hermits and anchorites, and to have derived little pleasure from being in the midst of this urgent modern life.

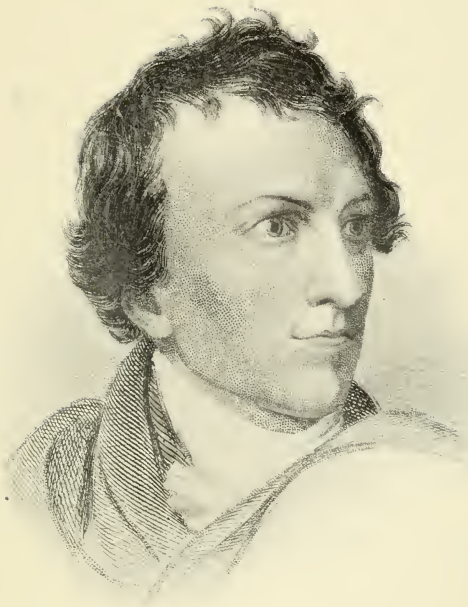
A classmate of Percival was the gifted poet, John G. C. Brainard, who was a friend of Whittier. He was born in New London, and went to Hartford, where he edited the "Mirror," whirling off for "copy" songs that are gems, such as his beautiful "Epithalamium." When he died in 1828, Connecticut lost one who loved to celebrate her charms in real poetry. Another son of Yale, Edward Rowland Sill, died in mid-career, leaving some exquisite poems that caused his friends to lament that his time was so short.

The "battle-laureate of the Union," Harry Howard Brownell, was an East Hartford man; and, being Farragut's private secretary, was inspired by the very breath of battle for his stirring "Battle of Mobile Bay," one of the finest lyrics of the war, and withal an accurate and graphic account of the fight. Well might it be, for through the thickest of the conflict he sat on the quarter-deck, noting every incident of the passing of the forts. His prose, as in the "War of 1812,"

was excellent. He lies in the burying-ground of the Center Church in Hartford.

The poet-banker-critic, Edmund Clarence Stedman, has shown that literary achievement can be united with business ability. He was born in Hartford, was one of Yale's famous class of '53, had a journalist's experience as an editor in Norwich and Winsted, as a member of the "Tribune's" staff, and as a war correspondent of the "World." A banker from 1864 to 1883, a member of the Stock Exchange from 1869 to 1903, he has during the same time written his poems, "Alice of Monmouth," "The Blameless Prince," his admirable "Victorian Poets," and anthologies of American and English poets, besides editing the "Library of American Literature." To Stedman Yale turned for a poem to commemorate her two hundredth anniversary; and the poet who had won the "Lit" prize for a poem on "Westminster Abbey," nearly fifty years before, was ready to sing a noble song in honor of "Mater Coronata." His "Hymn of the West" was written by request for the opening of the St. Louis Fair in 1904. His influence in elevating and directing public taste has been of great value through all the years of a busy life.

With the rapt look of those who see not as others see, Delia Bacon and Amos Bronson Alcott passed through this busy world. She, with remarkable intellectual powers, was a kind of literary lion in her day, by means of her "Tales of the Regicides," and her lectures on literature, then unusual for a woman to give; but the world unfortunately remembers her best as smitten with the fever of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, prowling ghoulishly about the sacred grave at Stratford-on-Avon, and yet held back by native delicacy from despoiling it. Alcott, visionary, lovable, unpractical, the grandfather, so to speak, of "Little Women," since Louisa



From the Painting by Alexander

JAMES G. PERCIVAL

May Alcott was his daughter, was born in Wolcott, in 1799. As one of the "transcendentalists," and famous "Concord Philosophers," he was doubtless able, in his "Concord Days" and "Table Talks of Emerson" to give faithful reproductions of the spirit of that group of thinkers.

Among volunteers in the Civil War, doing rather than writing was the rule; but besides Brownell, the army had the illustrious name of Theodore Winthrop, whose "Cecil Dreeme" and "Edwin Brothertoft" showed the world what might have been; and John William De Forest, born in Humphreysville, now Seymour, who was a captain of the Twelfth, sent home excellent reports of battles, which were literally written by an eye witness, since he was in one campaign under fire for forty-six days. He wrote a "History of the Indians of Connecticut," "Honest John Vane," and many other novels. And we cannot forget the gallant chaplain of the Tenth, Henry Clay Trumbull, whose "Knightly Soldier," and "The Captured Scout of the Army of the James," were pictures of what he knew in days of war; who, as the author of "Kadesh-Barnea" and the long-time editor of the "Sunday School Times," filled a special niche among religious writers. Of Hartford birth is William Henry Bishop, the author of the "House of a Merchant Prince," who has in his works on Maine and Old Mexico treated of two regions widely sundered by climate and associations of race. Frederick H. Cogswell has dressed in the guise of fiction the story of the Regicides, whose memory is incorporated with the very map of New Haven. William H. H. Murray, of "Adirondacks" fame; Bailey of the *Danbury News;* Dr. George Beard, who in his short life made a great name as a writer on the brain and nerves; Sarah Knowles Bolton, who has grouped "famous" explorers, auth-

ors, leaders and others, in very popular books; Alice Bacon, author of "Jinrickisha Days;" and Theodore Woolsey Bacon, a brilliant and versatile writer, are all of Connecticut origin.

So too is Donald G. Mitchell, known almost as well by the world as "Ik Marvel." From the time that his "Reveries of a Bachelor" made him famous, he has poured out from the treasures of his culture and experience, a delightful succession of essays, critical sketches and historical works that have made "Edgewood," just outside of New Haven, classic ground.

John Fiske the clear-sighted historian, deep thinker, and ceaseless worker, was of Hartford birth. His books, ranging over history, near and remote, over myths and realities, over the principles that underlie man's relation to Nature and to God, with the public addresses that he gave with great charm, have caused him to be one of the most prominent makers of modern thought. Unequaled in popularizing the great discoveries and ideas of others, he made solid contributions of his own to the realm of philosophy and science.

Journalism has been a field in which many a writer has shown his mettle; and Hartford offices have seemed especially to be hotbeds for future authors. The *Mirror* published there, and the *Microscope* in New Haven, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, had many a contributor who became famous afterwards. George D. Prentice, born in Preston in 1802, a graduate of Brown University, made his reputation in Hartford as the editor of the *New England Weekly Review,* having followed Brainard on the *Mirror.* Prentice's wit and ability, combined with gifted contributors, made the *Review* successful for ten years. He it was who introduced Whittier to the world, and in his charge he left his paper while he went to Kentucky to prepare a "Life

of Henry Clay," whom he supported as candidate for President. Whittier went on writing poems for the *Review* for two years; and Prentice remained in Kentucky, where he established the *Louisville Journal* and a national reputation.

One of the well-known contributors to the New York *Times* during the Civil War, was the "Veteran Observer," Edward Deering Mansfield, who was born in New Haven in 1801, the son of Jared Mansfield. He was decidedly a scholar, having graduated from West Point and Princeton and studied law with Judge Gould in Litchfield; and he became a professor, in Cincinnati College, of Constitutional Law, on which subject and on others he wrote ably.

Like Stedman, another member of the class of '53 held a brilliant pen, and used it in a Norwich editorial office—Isaac H. Bromley. He had a taste of army life during the war; he was editor and partial proprietor of the *Hartford Evening Post* for four years, ending in 1872, after which he was connected with several papers in New York, but was especially identified with the *Tribune,* being on its editorial staff for eleven years, always contributing spicy and important articles. During his last years he was the Government Director of the Union Pacific Railroad, and was in other ways connected with railroad affairs.

Another editor, D. W. Bartlett, went from Hartford to Washington just before the Civil War, to be connected with Dr. Gamaliel Bailey in the editorship of the *National Era.* In 1858 he became the daily correspondent by mail and telegraph of the New York *Evening Post.* He was also for over twenty years the correspondent of the *Springfield Republican* and the *Independent,* and the letters of "Van" and "D. W. B." were sought with never-disappointed expectation by his

readers. His sure insight and careful observation made these letters valuable to recent historians, especially in the period from 1858 to the breaking-out of the Civil War, during which time he was almost alone as an anti-slavery correspondent from Washington. Mr. Bartlett wrote the first "Life of Abraham Lincoln" published in book form. His books on London and Paris were widely read for years, and his "Lady Jane Grey," first published in 1853, still has a sale of 500 copies a year. He was Clerk of the House Committee on Elections for fourteen years, and the American Secretary of the Chinese Legation for twelve years.

It was on the editorial pages of the *Hartford Courant* that Charles Dudley Warner's "My Summer in a Garden" made its bow to the public; and while he was an active editor and one of the proprietors of the paper till his death, contributing constantly very valuable articles full of political sagacity to his own journal, his literary talent took him into broader fields of travel, biography, fiction, and essays that carried his name far and wide. His delicate wit and humor lighted up even commonplace incidents with a glow that warmed but did not sting. Whether his graceful pen set forth the charms of literature, the picturesque in Nature, or explained the duties of the citizen, his words and influence were always on the side of right living. He was not of Connecticut birth, but was identified with the State by a lifetime of service. A friendly neighbor in local habitation, a member of the same literary circle, and sometimes literally a partner in authorship, was Samuel Langhorne Clemens, whose immortal extravaganza "Innocents Abroad" made "Mark Twain" a household word, and whose succeeding works have brought him increased renown.

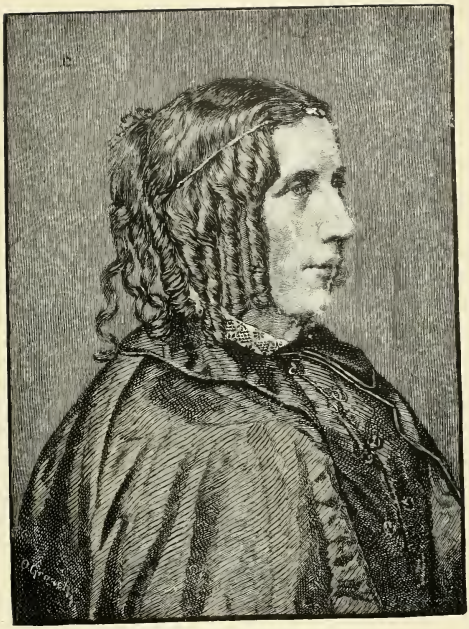
The scattered records of the past have been collected by

the careful hand of Professor Franklin B. Dexter, in regard to the graduates of Yale, in the biographical volumes which will be a priceless authority in years to come; and in "Chronicles of New Haven Green" and other works, Henry T. Blake the author of the poem "Niagara" has preserved, and enlivened by his wit, local history that would otherwise have vanished from present knowledge.

One more Norwich editor distinguished himself in the line of antiquarian research, and became one of the most famous genealogists of his day—Joseph Lemuel Chester, who, going to London in 1858, investigated the ancestry of Washington, and devoted seventeen years to a work on the baptismal and marriage registers of Westminster Abbey, besides accomplishing other kindred works. Of similar importance in American archives has been the invaluable work of Charles J. Hoadly, for many years the librarian of the State Library in Hartford, and an unimpeachable authority on State history; and the remarkable genealogical work of Professor Edward Elbridge Salisbury of New Haven, and his wife, Evelyn MacCurdy Salisbury, the daughter of Judge McCurdy of Lyme. Both of them accurate scholars, they devoted themselves for years to collecting from both sides of the ocean all the accessible records of many of the prominent old families of New England, tracing them down from the most ancient families of Great Britain. These histories, presented in a charming style, with large charts and engravings of arms, fill six sumptuous quarto volumes, of which the two volumes, "Family Memorials," are Professor Salisbury's account of his ancestral lines, and the four others, "Family Histories and Genealogies," describing Mrs. Salisbury's lines, are the joint work of Professor Salisbury and herself. This monumental work, which preserves precious knowledge that would other-

wise have been lost, is, as a private achievement, quite without a parallel, and his already become a recognized mine of unique lore.

Time fails to speak of the many contributions to the literature of special subjects from scholars whose fame has added to, as well as come from, that of their books; such as Woolsey's works on International Law, Dana's many books on Geology and Corals, Whitney's memorable gifts to philology, Fisher's masterly works on Ecclesiactical History. Every lover of art must thank Hoppin for his "Our Old Home" and his scholarly books on art; and every student of Chaucer and Shakespeare owes a debt to Lounsbury for his critical volumes, at once learned, and delightful in style. As part of the commemoration of Yale's great anniversary, some of her professors prepared upwards of twenty-five works elucidating the advancement of knowledge in their own departments. President Hadley, already well-known as an able writer on economic subjects, led the list with "The Education of the American Citizen;" Russell H. Chittenden gave a work on the subject on which he is the acknowledged authority, "Physiological Chemistry;" Lounsbury added "Shakespearian Wars" to his valuable works on Shakespeare; John Christian Schwab wrote the first industrial and financial history of the South during the Civil War; William G. Sumner gave a book on "Societology;" Thomas D. Seymour, "Life in Greece in the Homeric Age;" Edward Washburn Hopkins, a work based on personal experience in India, besides an analysis of the "Great Epic of India;" J. Willard Gibbs, the great mathematician, "The Principles of Statistical Mechanics;" John S. Weir, a "Life of John Trumbull;" Horace L. Wells, "Studies from the Chemical Laboratory of the Sheffield Scientific School;" Samuel L. Penfield



HARRIET BEECHER STOWE

and Louis V. Pirsson, "Contributions to Mineralogy and Petrography;" the lamented Charles E. Beecher, "Studies in Evolution;" and space fails to enumerate many others; the list is remarkable for range and quality, embracing philology, history, religion, literature, art, science, and pure and applied mathematics.

Each son and daughter of Lyman Beecher had talent, many had genius: Thomas and Edward were able writers and preachers; Catherine's strong personality had a molding effect on her time, whether she was teaching, writing, or talking; Isabella, Mrs. John Hooker, threw her great influence on the side of woman's rights. Henry Ward Beecher, the ninth child, born and brought up in Litchfield, found his first school under his sister Catherine, took his degree at Amherst, and was with his father and sisters in Cincinnati during the troublous times of pro-slavery mobs there, and in fact served as a special policeman for several days then. He was one of the four original editors of the *Independent;* he wrote much; —twenty volumes of his sermons were published; his "Star Papers" and "Norwood" show his love of New England life and scenery, and the former contain some of the most charming essays in the language; and his "Jesus the Christ" was the last book from his pen. But his greatest work was as a preacher and a lecturer. The man who began with an audience of nineteen women and one man in Indianapolis, was through most of his life wont to move audiences of thousands to tears or laughter by the magic of his wonderful eloquence, and to know that his name filled the streets of Brooklyn every Sunday with a hurrying throng.

And his sister, Harriet Beecher Stowe, what a power she had! Far and away the most famous novelist that America has produced, she held the world enthralled in sympathy with

Uncle Tom. From the day when her father discovered in the Litchfield school that it was his twelve-year-old daughter who had stirred his admiration of her paper on the "Immortality of the Soul," her genius was suspected. Those quiet eyes were taking notes all through her life, of the dignified New England divines, the angular, kind-hearted spinsters, the village gossips and romances, the tragedies of Border life in the pro-slavery and anti-slavery struggle, the pathos of the black man's lot; and on her pages she has made them more real than reality, for they are immortal.

She reached the high-water mark of literary success, and her name literally went around the world. Her English admirers gave her an inkstand of silver, ten inches high, representing two slaves just freed from their bonds; the Duchess of Sutherland, a gold bracelet in the form of a shackle, which has since been inscribed with the dates of the epochs of progress in the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade; and an address was sent to her by Lord Shaftesbury, signed by 562,-448 names in England and on the Continent, which filled twenty-six thick folio volumes.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" first appeared in Dr. Bailey's *National Era,* in Washington, and, according to the authorities of the British Museum, has been translated into twenty languages, has been published in thirteen German, four French, and fifty English, separate editions. It has been abridged, dramatized, arranged for children, and has had elaborate commentaries; it has brought to its author the homage of the masses, the admiration and friendship of the great ones of the earth, and has undeniably contributed to break the shackles it described.

CHAPTER XIV

Educators and Philanthropists

THE traditionally witty Frenchman spoke the truth when he said that from Connecticut went forth teachers, law-makers, and clocks!

There were good teachers in the old days; and although they did not talk very much of methods, the "proof of the pudding," in the sterling scholars and men they brought up, was eminently satisfactory. The memory of the prowess of some of these teachers still lingers:—of James Murdoch, the classmate of Lyman Beecher and Henry Baldwin, who began, as have so many other distinguished men, as the rector of the Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven, and, with the University of Vermont for an intermediate place, spent most of his teaching life at Andover, where he made a strong impression as an expounder and writer of philosophical and ecclesiastical matters, and later Lyman H. Atwater, the kind friend and keen logician, who for years held sway over his classes at Princeton, "a great jurist spoiled to make a great professor;" and another noted force in the teaching world, George McClellan, of Woodstock birth and Yale education, the eminent surgeon of Philadelphia, whose private lectures in anatomy and surgery resulted in establishing the Jefferson Medical College there; and whose efforts, later, obtained the charter for the Medical School connected with Pennsylvania College. His lectures were of notable advantage to the institution, for his fame as a surgeon, especially in ophthalmic surgery, was borne abroad even to foreign lands, patients resorting to him from various countries; and his medical and surgical reports were widely read. His son was General George B McClellan.

Also a native of (East) Woodstock, was the famous authority on political economy, Amasa Walker, a man whose

influence was potent in everything that he touched, whether it were helping the founders of Oberlin, in which he was deeply interested; organizing the Free Soil Party, as well as the Boston Lyceum; persuading the Massachusetts Legislature to authorize the use of the Connecticut Webster's Dictionary; presiding over the first Temperance Society in Boston; or lecturing on political economy at Amherst, Oberlin, or Harvard. Tireless in his energy, he was yet an advocate of peace; and in the days when Elihu Burritt was preaching a new doctrine of peace and arbitration, Amasa Walker served as a Vice-President of the two great International Peace Congresses held at London and Paris in 1843 and 1849 respectively. As an authority on finance and an advocate of reforms, he was best known. His "Nature and Uses of Money," his articles on political economy in *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine,* and his "Science of Wealth," which had eight editions and was translated into Italian, had an educating influence on the reading public.

In the domain of the schoolroom, the creative impulse of the State has been very evident; and it is generally acknowledged that the distinctive text-book for practical uses was first installed in Connecticut schools. He who studies early instruction must be struck by the frequency of the manuscript copy of some learned teacher's "manual" for his own scholars, sometimes handed down from class to class for many years, with much painful copying, even books of psalm-tunes being thus prepared by hand. To sugar-coat the pill of knowledge, as is now the custom, was not thought of; and it was a wonderful advance when, in 1783, Noah Webster published the first part of his "Grammatical Institutes," which combined reader, spelling-book, and grammar.

To properly set forth the merits of and the benefits result-

ing from, Webster's great work, is not possible here; to him more than to any one else is due the happy fact that the vast area of the United States is homogenous in its use of the English language, instead of being broken up by provincial dialects; that, in a formative period, the idea of careful and systematic attention to spelling and the use of language as a basis for a liberal education was instilled; and that a dignified assertion of our national rights in using the English language without a servile imitation of local English customs was made. Webster was active in securing a copyright law. Already one well-known college-president (and doubtless there are many others), has definitely assigned the disuse of Webster's spelling-book as a cause of the acknowledged defects in fundamental English on the part of the modern college-boy and has expressed a desire for its revival. It is certain that Webster's little blue spelling-book, with its Temple of Fame on the Hill of Science as the frontispiece, its quaint fables, and its columns of b-a, ba; b-e, be, reaching, by the year 1870, a sale of 40,000,000 copies, is one of the most famous books produced in America.

Webster's contemporary and temporary rival in publishing readers and spelling-books, Caleb Bingham, although a native of Salisbury, was identified especially with Massachusetts schools.

Nathan Daboll, born in Center Groton in 1750, eight years before Webster, for a long time almost shared the latter's poularity in schools on account of his arithmetic, which for thirty-five years held the first place in its field. He struck a happy medium between an arithmetic published in Norwich in 1796 by Root, who accommodatingly omitted fractions "because they are not absolutely necessary," and the English Cocker, with his Latin explanations. In spite of recommen-

dations from Noah Webster, Professor Meigs of Yale, and Professor Messer of Brown, the publisher was faint-hearted and allowed a royalty of only one cent a copy. Yet to the day of that publisher's death in his ninety-eighth year, the sale of the arithmetic had not abated.

Of geographies there is quite a history. Strange as it may seem to boys and girls now, the modern geography, with its abundant and compendious maps, its attractive pictures of birds and beasts, of the wonders of nature and art, its systematic and compact arrangement of useful facts, was not known in the early nineteenth century. The ice was broken by Jedidiah Morse, a learned native of Woodstock, who ventured to publish in 1784, a "Geography made Easy" that his pupils had used in manuscript. The public indorsed his opinion in the preface that "Geography was no longer esteemed a polite and agreeable accomplishment only, but a very necessary and important part of education," by buying the books so eagerly that in 1789 he published his famous "American Geography." Its two stout volumes, bound in leather, contain much information, some of it especially interesting now that it seems obsolete, as with regard to the regulations for using tobacco. It won instant recognition and praise, and brought to its author the name of the "Father of American Geography." His monument in the Grove Street Cemetery in New Haven, near Webster, Whitney, and Beecher, is surmounted by a globe.

William C. Woodbridge, although born in Massachusetts, spent almost his whole life from infancy in Connecticut. He taught at one time in the School for the Deaf at Hartford. In 1821, he and Mrs. Emma Willard consolidated their pedagogical experience in another geography, which they justly felt remedied many faults in previous ones. But it was soon

eclipsed by a rival, the work of Jesse Olney, a native of Union in Tolland County. In 1827 he published his atlas-geography, with illustrations, which had a popularity almost equal to that of Webster's books, and for thirty years was used all over the country, being revised and improved in many editions, which amounted to at least 80,000 copies. Olney sensibly omitted the accounts of the solar system and other far-away matters, which had encumbered previous geographies, and began at once with every-day land and water; and his methods have been essentially used ever since. Frederick Butler of Wethersfield had issued ten years before a compendium of all general history, which is called the first of the kind to be published in this country.

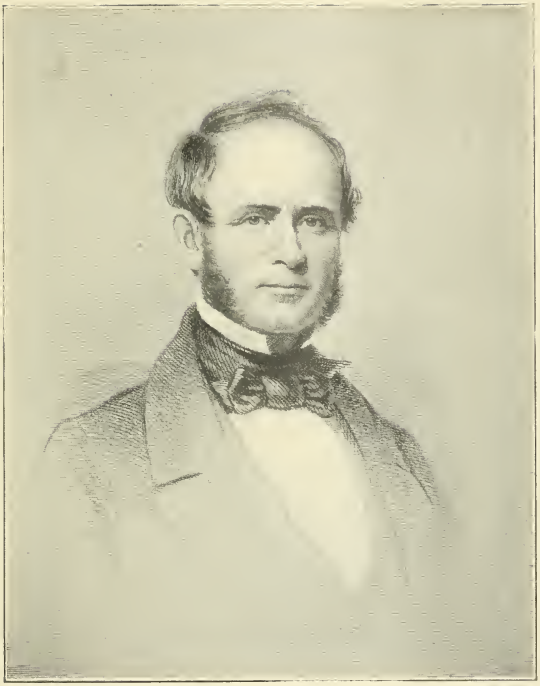
The classical learning of Ethan Allen Andrews, a native of New Britain, was applied to a work that was a landmark in the study of Latin;—his Latin-English lexicon, which was not only a boon to the student of his time, but was done in so complete and masterly a way as to become a standard work for many generations. Professor Andrews, whose attainments were very great, held a chair in North Carolina University for six years, and was at the head of schools in New Haven, and in Boston, where he succeeded Jacob Abbott. He introduced new methods, now commonly adopted, of teaching Latin; and his text-books, of which the "First Lessons in Latin" had thirty-four editions, had a great sale. They, as well as the Lexicon, were written in New Britain.

Of a different type was Samuel J. Andrews, long a teacher at Trinity College, but best remembered as a disciple of Irving, and an expounder of the doctrines of the Catholic Apostolic Church. His "Life of our Lord upon Earth" has long been of standard value.

Most of the text-books spoken of proceeded from practical

teachers, who tried to meet personally-felt needs. Among these was the famous Emma Willard, one of the leaders of her time, and a pioneer in the higher education of women. She was born in Berlin, the sixteenth of the seventeen children of Captain Samuel Hart. Her talents as a student and teacher were early displayed, and in their full development in her Seminary in Troy, gave her an international renown. Her "Plan for improving Female Education," published in 1818, after long consideration, led to the adoption in 1819, by the New York Legislature, of the first law for the education of girls passed by any Legislature, and to the incorporation of her school in Troy. For a long lifetime she exerted a potent influence on the rising generation of women, and on the public estimation of the necessity of their education. She herself gave assistance to deserving students which amounted to at least $75,000. She had the friendship of distinguished men both here and abroad, being received with honor by Lafayette; her text-books on history and geography were in great favor, being translated for use in French schools, and with her novel theory of the "Circulation of the Blood," and her song "Rocked in the Cradle of the Deep," giving her a place among authors; and her beauty, goodness, learning, and dignity of character made her a stately type of the American woman.

Her sister, Mrs. Almira Lincoln Phelps, was almost equally gifted and distinguished. She taught a private school in New Britain in 1813, was associated with Mrs. Willard in Troy, and afterwards gave a great impetus to woman's education in Maryland. Her lectures to her classes in Botany, prepared because she could find no suitable text book, were widely used when published as "Lincoln's Botany."



From the Painting by J. S. Lincoln

Henry Barnard

She was the second woman to become a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

These women, like Mary Lyon, broke ground which has borne rich harvests since then. And in later days has been the memorable work of Sarah Porter, who led thousands of pupils to a love for learning, for philanthropy, for high-minded living that has carried the name of Farmington, where she had her school, all over the United States. Her singleness of purpose, her generosity, her devotion to culture and scholarship, and her wonderful personal influence, made her an inspiring force; and she has been ranked with Arnold among the great educators of the nineteenth century.

The epoch-making effort of Dr. Mason Fitch Cogswell in establishing the School for the Deaf and Dumb at Hartford has been mentioned. From that arose the famous work of Gallaudet in teaching mutes; and by the urgency of Gallaudet, David Ely Bartlett was led to bestow the zeal and devotion of a lifetime on the same noble work. All these men were natives of Connecticut and graduates of Yale.

Among those who gave the motive power for educational progress, who touched the springs of governmental support, Henry Barnard is pre-eminent. Disinterested, indefatigable, gifted, he devoted his whole life to the improvement of education, and without doubt stands at the head of American educators. He was born in Hartford in 1811, was graduated from Yale in 1830, studied law, and then tried his hand as principal of an academy in Wellsboro, Pennsylvania. That directed his attention to the importance of public schools. Before that, any improvements in them had been desultory and personal, without any well-arranged or prevailing system. Mr. Barnard went to Europe to examine methods there; and his errand, as well as his high-bred and agreeable personality,

brought him cordial interest and the acquintance of such men as Carlyle, the Lake Poets, Lord Brougham, and others. He brought home many valuable ideas about educational and municipal systems, which his gifts of oratory enabled him to present to the public in a very convincing manner. Moreover, he pleaded successfully for broader views in caring for the insane and for criminals. However, his most important achievement at that period was in securing, in 1838, the passage of a bill in the General Assembly for the better local supervision of schools. This bill provided for a Board of School Commissioners for the State, and of that Board Mr. Barnard was secretary for four years. He had found his life-work; and in the fulness of his zeal, he traveled over the country to elevate public sentiment, speaking in every State in the Union but Texas, addressing ten Legislatures, and so infusing the general public with his enthusiasm as to give a lasting uplift to public instruction. The establishment of the Normal School in New Britain was a direct result. His assistance was invoked by Rhode Island, where in 1843 he served as Superintendent of Schools, filling the same office later in Connecticut from 1850 to 1854. He was called to the University of Wisconsin as its Chancellor, and after the war, to St. John's College, at Annapolis, as its president. He was the first U. S. Commissioner of Education, and in his first report he anticipated almost every measure of reform in education that was afterwards adopted in the United States. He established the first system of State libraries, and for the first time organized teachers in a national association.

By his writings, fifty-two volumes in all, he made a profound impression on the educational public, 30,000 copies of his "Educational Development in the United States" being sold; while the *Journal of Education,* which he began in

1855, is called by the Encyclopædia Britannica "by far the most valuable work in our language on the history of education." Mr. Barnard was generous to a fault: of his own fortune, he spent $40,000 on educational tracts to be scattered. His success was owing not only to his great ability and extremely gracious and winning nature, but to his wisdom, which restrained him from visionary enterprises, and induced general public confidence in all that he suggested. His great pioneer work was appreciated at home and abroad. His eighty-sixth birthday, January 25, 1897, was made the occasion of a memorial and congratulatory celebration in Hartford, in which the teachers and Legislatures of the State united with friends from far and near to honor the patriarch of educational development, who was present in health and vigor.

Following in his footsteps came Birdsey Grant Northrup, born in Kent in 1817, and of the class of 1841 at Yale, whose efforts to promote education in the State and the world deserve lasting recognition, although he did not sway men as did Henry Barnard. He was president of the National Education Association, and of the American Institute of Instruction; but will be longest remembered as the "Father of Village Improvement Societies," the originator of "Arbor Day," and for his connection with the American education of Japanese and Chinese youth. He declined an offer from the Government of Japan to establish a system of public education; and in 1895 he was received there as the guest of the Japanese nation.

Of Connecticut birth, too, is William T. Harris, who has combined the profundity of a member of the Concord School of Philosophy with the practical merits of a successful United States Commissioner of Education. He founded the Phil-

osophical Society, and the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy,* both of St. Louis, has written important philosophical works, and has several times represented the Bureau of Education abroad.

All the religious world knows the story of Samuel J. Mills a native of Torringford, one of the four Williams students under a haystack who set rolling the ball of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions; and of his devotion to the elevation of the colored race, here and in Africa, ending in his death at sea on the passage from Sierra Leone: and in harmony with his labors were those of Ralph Randolph Gurley, born in Lebanon, who four years after his graduation from Yale in 1818, became the agent and secretary of the American Colonization Society, increasing its revenue in ten years from $800 to $40,000, and being especially active in founding Liberia.

No man was ever more thoroughly imbued with the desire to do good to his fellow-men than New Britain's famous son, Elihu Burritt. From his brother Elijah—a noted teacher, and the author of that long-used book, "The Geography of the Heavens,"—he gained his only regular instruction in a school; and that only for three months in his twenty-first year. But his zeal for learning surmounted all obstacles. Like many boys then, he had been taught a trade, which in his case was that of a worker in all kinds of iron tools,—a blacksmith, in the parlance of the time; and he made the forge support him while studying mathematics and languages. His Algebra or Greek or Latin Grammar set up before him at the forge, he made the blows on the anvil keep time with declensions and conjugations in ancient tongues, or accompany complicated mental mathematical operations. Often he forged ten hours a day while studying such languages as

Portugese, Gaelic, Chaldee, Sanskrit, Hindustani, Icelandic, Basque, or Manx. His philological taste developed a remarkable aptitude for the special acquisition of rare vocabularies, so that at last he could read with more or less ease fifty languages. While he was in Worcester, whither the Antiquarian Library had attracted him, he wrote the famous letter in the archaic Celto-Breton dialect to the Royal Antiquarian Society of France, now exhibited in the Museum at Rennes as the only letter ever written in that language by an American. Just as he found himself famous, he made a great turn in his life, and philanthropy took the place of philology in his interests. For twenty years he devoted himself to schemes for the benefit of mankind, which have identified him with the philanthropy of the age, and particularly with the movement for arbitration. His *Christian Citizen* was published in the interest of peace; and his *Olive Leaves* in many languages, fluttered over the world. His efforts and acquirements brought him into communication with great men on both sides of the water, such as Bright, Cobden, de Tocqueville, and Victor Hugo.

Beginning in 1846, he made several long visits to Europe, where he besought court and fireside to listen to the message of the "League of Universal Brotherhood." To him we owe the great boon of ocean penny postage, the penny to be added to the land postage; to him starving Ireland owed the shipload of provisions and clothing sent by the people of Boston; and to him were greatly due the Peace Congresses at Brussels, Paris, London, and elsewhere, where he reached the climax of his efforts. These extraordinary assemblages of the most distinguished philanthropists of two continents, with their brilliant and pathetic appeals for arbitration instead of the sword, made a profound impression on the world; and

they have borne fruit in the Geneva Tribunal, the High Joint Commission, and the Hague Arbitration Court. At these meetings, Mr. Burritt was received with overwhelming applause, and honors awaited him on his return to his native land.

He spent four happy years as our Consular Agent at Birmingham, England, after the Civil War. In the peace of his concluding years in New Britain, he continued his linguistic studies, and occupied himself much with beneficent enterprises, public and private. He wrote much, and well; his published works amounting to thirty volumes, ranging from juvenile books, through travel and religion, to a Sanskrit Handbook. Of them, his "Mission of Great Sufferings" is characteristic of his highest thought. Gentle, refined, courteous, and modest beneath his weight of honors, this remarkable man passed away in 1879, equally beloved and admired, and leaving a name that grows constantly brighter as the great apostle of arbitration.

So many rich Connecticut men have made the world brighter by their generous gifts of parks, libraries, museums, and institutions, that selection is baffled. About some individual benefactions, however, there is special significance. Asa Packer of Groton enriched his adopted State, Pennsylvania, by founding Lehigh University and St. Luke's Hospital at South Bethlehem, as well as building several churches, endowing the first in 1868 with $2,000,000, a larger sum than had been given then by any one individual to a like object; and Walter Newberry, born in East Windsor, gave $4,000,000 to found the magnificent and well-equipped Newberry Library in Chicago. Joseph Hand, born in Madison and dying in Guilford, had a singular experience during the Civil War. Having gone to the South to look after his busi-

ness there, he was arrested as a spy in New Orleans, nearly mobbed in Augusta, and allowed to retire to North Carolina on parole during the war. Quite prepared to lose the business interests he had left in Augusta, he was greatly surprised when his partner, Williams, who had carried on the business successfully during his absence, returned to him, after hostilities had ended, $558,000 as his share of the profits. This unexpected fortune having been invested until, in 1888, it amounted to a million dollars, Mr. Hand gave it to the American Missionary Association to be held in trust for the education of Southern negroes; besides $300,000 for immediate use, and $200,000 which accrued to the fund in 1894. This is said to be the "largest gift ever made in this country by a living donor to a benevolent society."

With the same aim was the gift of John Fox Slater, a native of Rhode Island, but identified with Connecticut through a life spent in Norwich, where he amassed a fortune. He was an authority on railroad matters, and very successful in managing his great cotton-mills, where his seven overseers served terms varying from seventeen to forty-eight years. He gave a million dollars, one-half invested, one-half in cash, to be used by trustees for "the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education." He went on to speak of the "compassion that was due in view of their prevailing ignorance, which exists by no fault of their own." Congress passed a resolution of thanks and ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to him. His son gave to Norwich the valuable Slater Museum.

Among the many beautiful libraries that have been given to towns all over the State, the Blackstone Memorial Library

at Branford is undoubtedly the most beautiful, and has already cast a certain dignity over the village. This tasteful building, which with its equipment cost three hundred thousand dollars, was the gift of the Hon. Timothy B. Blackstone of Chicago, as a memorial to his father, Captain James Blackstone. Five generations of Blackstones have been identified with Branford, all descended from that William Blackstone who was found living on the Charles River when the first settlers came to Boston.

Four of these five munificent givers were born in the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century, and four of them in the same region bordering on the Sound.

CHAPTER XV

In Arts and Sciences

CONNECTICUT is not Athens," was the famous rejoinder of Governor Trumbull to the yearnings towards art of his son John; and we must still admit that neither Athens nor Florence has found a reproduction on American soil. Yet the good governor little thought that within a hundred years Connecticut would rank as one of the three pioneers in original art among the United States, and that in this twentieth century she could count hundreds of citizens who have found art lucrative and honorable. Her record is creditable: she "produced the first, and for years almost all of the standard historical works of the country;" she has had more than her share of National Academicians; she had the first academic art-school in the country; she has sent hundreds of art-students abroad; she has had some artists of acknowledged ability; and she has long been a favorite resort for painters.

It is significant of the unbroken art-succession of a century that the easel used by Trumbull, the patriot-painter, and given by him to Jocelyn, has through the heirs of the latter descended to the Yale Art School.

Morse, who was the first president of the National Academy of Design, painted some miniatures even in his college days, and had many New Haven sitters for his later portraits. And Nathaniel Jocelyn, born in New Haven in 1796, and beginning to paint delightful miniatures before he was twenty, was long a patriarch among painters, for his hand did not lose its skill in portraits before his death in 1881. His portraits are still much esteemed for their natural tints, graceful pose, and fidelity to the characteristics of the subjects. He did service to history as well as to art, by preserving the countenances of many of the important men of his

time, with whom he often had an intimate personal acquaintance. Such were his portraits of Dr. Jonathan Knight and Dr. Eli Ives. Mr. Jocelyn was public-spirited, led an exemplary life and stimulated general interest in art. He was much interested in the unfortunate captives of the slave-ship Amistad, brought by chance to our shores, and restored to freedom after the long lawsuit in which Roger Baldwin was their able defender. During their stay in New Haven, Jocelyn painted the portrait of Cinque, their leader, which was widely copied.

The name of Flagg has been for generations associated with art in Connecticut in the persons of six descendants of Henry Flagg, a well-known lawyer of South Carolina and New Haven, and five years mayor of the latter place. Mayor Flagg's brother-in-law, Washington Allston, perhaps gave an impulse to the tendency to art in his nephews. Henry, the oldest, divided his time between the navy and painting marine views; but dying during the Civil War while in command of his ship, did not leave any pictures of lasting importance. The father was distressed to find that two more sons, George and Jared, were infected with the same passion for paint; but his remonstrances were of no avail. George, the second son, was considered a prodigy, and tales that seem fabulous are told of his vogue as a portrait-painter at thirteen, in Boston, when he was "the pet of the Bostonians." In particular, every one went to see his portrait of Miss Benjamin. The boy must have received some valuable ideas from Allston, but he became rather spoiled by adulation. Going to London to pursue his art, he painted there, under the spur of a rebuff from Constable, the "Match-Girl," which won him a reputation. At eighteen he had returned to New Haven to establish a studio; and, living intermittently in

New Haven, London, and New York, painted portraits which are often pleasing, and historical pieces that have drifted into oblivion. Among his famous sitters was Fanny Kemble.

His younger brother, Jared B. Flagg, was likewise precocious in art, likewise studied with Allston; had painted, when sixteen, a portrait of his father which was exhibited at the National Academy in New York; and had established himself as a portrait-painter in Hartford at the early age of seventeen. It is said that only a week after opening his studio, he received the order for the portrait of Judge Hitchcock that now hangs in the Alumni Hall at Yale; and soon after, he painted several of the governors. In 1850, he was made a National Academician. In spite of becoming an Episcopal clergyman and officiating for years as the rector of Grace Church in Brooklyn, he could not lay aside the brush entirely, and resumed it in the later years of his life. His most interesting "Life and Letters of Washington Allston" is the standard biography of that painter. His taste was inherited by his sons, Montague, Charles Noel, and Ernest: the first, his own most difficult critic; being a painter of such careful and finished portraits as those of Charles Scribner, and President Pyncheon of Trinity College; the second, a portrait-painter; and the third, the famous architect of St. Luke's Hospital and the new buildings of the Naval Academy at Annapolis. Of the three, only Montague was of Hartford birth; but in 1888, Charles Noel Flagg established the Connecticut League of Art Students in Hartford, where he has identified himself with the local art interests and has painted portraits of such men as Charles Dudley Warner, Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens), and an extremely good one of the artist's father.

Hartford has always been proud of her painter of national renown, Frederick Church, whose "Niagara," "Icebergs," and "Heart of the Andes," "the carnival of summer far and near," as Buchanan Read sang of it, were household favorites for years through countless reproductions. Church studied under Thomas Cole, acquired his great reputation before going abroad, and had few of the romantic trials of destitute artists. He did not shrink from depicting Nature in her grandeur, and set himself tasks which would have intimidated many artists. In spite of abundant means, he was an indefatigable worker, devoting ten hours a day to his canvas, and going to Labrador to sail among icebergs in a boat, to South America, Syria, Jerusalem, anywhere, where he needed to study his chosen subjects.

Artists were many as the years went on. Oliver Stone and Rossiter studied with Jocelyn; Gurdon Trumbull, Hubbard, Tryon, Allen Talcott, Kensett, the painter of Lake George, might stand as color-bearers for their comrades, and have helped to place painting among the honorable professions; and among those who lived and painted in the State so long as to seem like true sons were Bellows, Shattuck, Shurtleff, Robbins, Twachtman; and James and William Hart. The exquisite paintings of the Harts have perpetuated the charms of Farmington on many New York walls.

The sculptor is a rarer bird than the painter, and there were few to encourage the timid efforts of the first Connecticut artist in stone, Hezekiah Augur, a New Haven youth whose disappointments were many, whose talent was undeniable. It is pleasant to know that Yale made him an honorary alumnus in recognition of his character and ability. Chauncey B. Ives, a native of Hamden, spent most of his life in Italy, whence he sent home many statues, and the fine

bust of that New Haven architect of lofty taste and aims, Ithiel Towne, which is in the Yale Art School.

Church lived in the sunshine of prosperity; the friend of his boyhood and manhood, Edward Bartholomew, was tossed between hope and bitter disappointment until his early death. He was born in Colchester in 1822, but spent his youth in Hartford, where he struggled with the occupations of bookbinding and dentistry, since no one interested himself in the possibilities for art in the shy and shrinking boy, with his high temper and tender conscience. From reading the life of Benvenuto Cellini, and heartfelt talks with his favorite companion, Church, he fed his desires to be an artist; and at last, while the curator of the Wadsworth Atheneum, he essayed to paint a large picture. From childhood, he had handled the pencil and the brush; but now, in the midst of his enthusiasm, he discovered that red and green were alike to him, that he was color-blind! In one wild moment of despair, he drew his brush across the picture, which he kicked, with all its appurtenances of brush, palette, and easel into the corner, there to lie with his ruined aspirations. But hope recalled his fondness for modeling; and in secrecy he began to carve a bust of Mrs. Sigourney, a file and furniture-hammer being his only tools, and his marble unsuited for the task. Thus engaged, he was found by James G. Batterson, that lover of art and friend of artists, who at once provided him with the proper marble and tools, and thus brought before the world a sculptor who was to be famous.

Just as Bartholomew's rising reputation warranted him in taking a studio in New York, the dishonesty of a washerwoman made him the victim of small-pox. The tall, stalwart man, stricken in the beauty and vigor of youth, arose from

his bed with health permanently impaired, lame for life and obliged to go on crutches.

Still undaunted, he started for Rome, overcoming many physical obstacles on account of his infirmities, and there his genius expanded rapidly. Within a week after his arrival, he was at work on the group "Homer led by his Daughter." Travel in Greece and the East, the instruction and counsel of artists, the encouragement of a brilliant reputation, and crowded orders, all were his in dazzling combination. Twice he returned to Hartford, where he was received with the greatest compliments; the city, on one occasion, giving a grand dinner in honor of him and his brother artist, Church. In the midst of this success, while promise was becoming performance, and he was working twelve hours a day; when fortune seemed ready to atone for a gloomy past, death ended all, and at thirty-six his career was done. "Eve Repentant," his most famous work, full of grace and feeling, is in Philadelphia, where it had been ordered by Mr. Joseph Harrison. Friends in Hartford, through Mr. Batterson, who hastened to Rome on hearing the sad news, gathered such works of the sculptor as are now treasured in the Wadsworth Atheneum. The original models for the bas-reliefs on the pedestal of the Eve are owned by the Yale Art School; and a copy of the statue itself, not quite equal to the original which had been finished under the master's eye, was made for the Atheneum collection.

Bartholomew had a fine perception of the dominating motives in a work of art, and indefatigable enthusiasm in the conscientious development of those ideas. Great sculptors are very rare; and the world could ill afford to lose him in mid-career. Trumbull, Bartholomew, and Church are the

three Connecticut artists who may be rightly called geniuses. In them the divine spark was unquenchable.

Paul Bartlett, the sculptor of the "Bear Tamer," of the "Lafayette" given by the school children of the United States to France and placed in the Square of the Louvre, of "Columbus" and "Michel-Angelo" in the Congressional Library, was a New Haven boy, and showed his talent in childhood. His bust of his grandfather was exhibited in the *Salon* when he was fourteen, and in the next year he entered *L'Ecole des Beaux Arts*. His statues of General McClellan in Philadelphia, and General Warren in Roxbury, besides his works in the Luxembourg and the Museums in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Paris, have brought him much honor, which is reflected on his native State.

Hartford and New Haven have been centres of art-influence for years to a limited extent. Weir, the painter of the "Forging of the Shaft," and the sculptor of the statue of the elder Silliman; and Niemeyer, the painter of "Gutenberg printing from his First Type," have been frequent exhibitors in New York and the great expositions, and under their scholarly instruction the Yale Art School has sent out graduates who have won distinction at home and abroad. In recent summers, a third group of artists has been established in Lyme, that historic town with its fine old mansions, aristocratic traditions, and charm of river, country, and Sound. It has attracted artists of various nationalities, men from England and Canada, and different parts of the United States; and under the Art League of New York a Summer School of Landscape Artists has been established. Many students resort to it; and the presence of such artists as Henry W. Ranger, Will Howe, Will Howe Foote, DuMond, Hemming, Cohen, Dawson, Allen Talcott, Clark Voorhees, and Childe

Hassam, who have had annual exhibitions in the town, has given to it the name of the "American Barbizon."

In the realm of histrionic art, William Gillette has won name and fame in the double capacity of actor and playwright. In the science or art, whichever it be called, of lexicography, Yale University has ever led, as is attested by Webster's Dictionary with its numerous editions, and the Century Dictionary.

James Hammond Trumbull, ethnologist, philologist, historian, who sought out the footprints of the red man beneath the mold of years and rescued for us the fading knowledge of the aborigines, was like one who caught the last words of voices borne away on the wind and almost inaudible to other ears. He became the unquestioned authority on the Algonquin language, and was at last the only American scholar who could read the Indian Bible of Eliot. He was widely recognized and publicly honored as an extremely acute and accurate scholar in his peculiar field of learning, which included a very intimate knowledge of local history.

To turn from art and archæology to dietetics, let it be remembered by all who eat Graham bread that the use of unbolted flour was introduced by Sylvester Graham, a native of Suffield. While lecturing on intemperance, he conceived the idea of controlling the vice by a purely vegetable diet. From that he was led to write "Graham Lectures on the Science of Human Life," and "Bread and Bread-Making," and lo! his name was indissolubly connected with unbolted flour! Such fame was not without its drawbacks: when he was lecturing in Boston, a mob of bakers and butchers, infuriated by doctrines so undermining to their occupations, attacked him so violently that the mayor lost control, and Graham's friends were obliged to quell the excitement by shoveling slaked lime

from upper windows on the besiegers below. It is needless to observe that both butchers and bakers have found that the world is large enough for them and Graham flour too. Graham's influence in inducing people to eat more fruit and cereals than had been the custom gives him a deserved place as a benefactor. In a more scientific manner, the researches of Atwater at Wesleyan University and Chittenden at Yale have contributed to a general understanding of the chemistry of nutrition.

Scientific men have so abounded that selection is impracticable, except where unique service to the world has been rendered. The pioneer work of Benjamin Silliman the elder has been touched on in his connection with Yale College. This remarkable man, who was the very head of American science for a half-century, was born in North Stratford in 1779, the family having fled thither from Fairfield during a British raid. He followed his father and grandfather to Yale. While there he was fond of writing poetry, and excelled in all his studies. Duly admitted to the bar, he was on the point of going to Georgia to practice law, when in 1802 he was asked by President Dwight to prepare himself for a prospective professorship of chemistry and natural history. This was when science was in a primitive condition. Chemistry had been "scarcely mentioned," physics little considered, and astronomy was the only science that excited very much interest. The offer was accepted; and the insight of President Dwight and the promise of the young tutor were fulfilled in the great consequences that followed. Professor Silliman at once applied himself to the study of his new science, going to Philadelphia, where he also studied anatomy and surgery. From Dr. MacLean at Princeton, he gained many important suggestions. Returning

to New Haven in 1804, he began the brilliant career there of a half-century as a lecturer and teacher of science. It is noted that in his first class were John C. Calhoun, Gadsden, afterwards Bishop, and John Pierpont. A period of study and travel in Europe enlarged his knowledge and interested him in geology so far as to make a geological survey of his own State, with a resulting report. In sequence from that and the discontinuance of various attempted scientific journals, came the establishment of *Silliman's* (*now the American*) *Journal of Science*. He always felt that this was one of his most important contributions to the progress of science; recognized at home and abroad as an important repository of scientific experiment and observation, it has, in the words of Gilman, "for more than eighty years been published by a single family—three generations of them,—with unrequited sacrifices, unquestioned authority, and unparalleled success." His connection with the Medical School has been recounted elsewhere.

Silliman was pre-eminent as a public expounder of scientific truths, of which most people were then in a state of profound ignorance. His preparation for these lectures and for his experiments was so exact and careful that he had perfect confidence and unvarying success; and his gracious manner of presenting these novel truths and beautiful experiments enabled him to impart his own enthusiasm to his hearers, often holding the unbroken attention of fifteen hundred people for two hours with only a short recess. For twenty-three years he went all over the country, responding to calls to thus make science popular. He felt rightly that his mission was no so much that of an investigator as an apostle, and he found pleasure in that mission. He was asked to explore mines, of gold and coal; to examine, for the U. S. Govern-

ment, the culture and manufacture of sugar; and was everywhere regarded as the proper director of scientific enterprise. He was the first president of the association now known as the American Association for the Advancement of Science; he had a positive influence for patriotism and religion in the great questions of his day—the "Silliman Letters" have been elsewhere spoken of; he wrote interesting accounts of his travels as well as of his scientific discoveries, and endeared himself to all by his lovable personal qualities. This "Nestor of American science" died on Nov. 24, Thanksgiving Day, 1864.

A bright, diligent boy grew up in Farmington under the oversight of Governor Treadwell and the elder Dr. Noah Porter, who became an alert and inspiring teacher of astronomy and natural Philosophy at Yale,—Denison Olmsted. To his early text-books on those subjects, which filled a great void, reference has been made. They carried his name over the land, his Astronomy reaching nearly fifty editions. Patient as a teacher, he had many original ideas,—as when, in 1816, he advocated a training-school for teachers, long before others admitted the necessity. While in North Carolina, he gratuitously made a geological survey of the State as a vacation work. His observations of meteoric showers, and his theories concerning them and the progressive motion of ocean gales are in great measure still accepted. He and Professor Loomis were the first to observe the return of Halley's comet in 1835, which led him to urge the need of larger telescopes, and observatories for scientific research. His kind interest in his students and his fine character made him greatly beloved.

While he was teaching, the boy Chester Lyman, born in Manchester in 1814 was making astronomical apparatus, and

computing tables of eclipses without any teacher before he came to Yale. His blameless character fitted him for his profession of the ministry, but his bent towards astronomy was too strong to be resisted; and after a visit to the Sandwich Islands, where he had charge of the Royal School at Honolulu for a few months, and where his exploration of Kilauea established a new theory of volcanic eruptions; and a sojourn in California during its romantic '49 period, enabling him to give authentic accounts of the discovery of gold,—he settled down for a long professorship in the Sheffield Scientific School, where his pure face seemed like a benediction of science. He invented some valuable astronomical instruments and apparatus, and he was the first to observe some special phenomena of Venus.

John Strong Newberry, the geologist, made the government surveys of the country between San Francisco and the Colorado in the days when it was an untamed wilderness; during the Civil War, directed the operations of the Sanitary Commission in the Mississippi Valley; and after that thrilling period had passed, was again absorbed in science; and was for twenty-five years the professor of Geology and Palæontology at the Columbia School of Mines. Professor Newberry was very prominent as a writer on his subjects, and as an organizer and president of some of the great scientific associations. He was born in Windsor, died in New Haven, and was much identified with his native State.

In New Haven was born and is buried Charles Goodyear, whose pathetic struggles, in spite of poverty and opposition, to perfect his invention of vulcanizing rubber resulted in incalculable benefit to mankind.

Dr. Horace Welles was too retiring to push his claims, even if he had lived to realize their vast importance; but it

must not be forgotten that by the suggestion of his own mind after seeing Dr. Colton's exhibition of the effects of laughing gas, and by personal experiment in Hartford on himself and others, he proved that pain could be annihilated by anæsthetics, and thus led the way to the most momentous change in the history of surgery.

To Alexander Lyman Holley, the son of Governor Holley of Lakeville, is owing the introduction into this country of the Bessemer process of making steel, thereby increasing our steel product more than tenfold. Mr. Holley's great knowledge and his writings on the uses of iron and steel in "American and English Railways" and in "Ordnance and Armor," made him an authority on such matters, and his death while in the midst of useful activity was deeply regretted. The American Institute of Mining Engineers and the British Iron and Steel Institute of London combined to place in New York a bronze bust of Holley, by J. Q. A. Ward, as a testimonial of their admiration.

To Frederick Law Olmsted was given a special mission for the people of this country, in opening the parks which are now the pride and delight of our cities all over the land. Beginning with an intense love of Nature and a practical knowledge of farming, his theories sprang from a genuine root and had a genuine growth. Wide travel, with a definite object of learning from other lands, trained his originally good taste so that it became almost faultless. Other men might have had his enthusiasm, and the power of imparting it; but he had the right conception of the possibilities of each piece of land that was presented to his attention, and he knew how to bring out its salient features and combine them in a harmonious whole.

Of this power, Morningside Park in New York is a fine

illustration. A rocky strip of land, steep, narrow, and small, unavailable for building or traffic, to some minds fit only for a dumping-place, was transformed by his genius into a thing of beauty which excites the surprise and admiration of curators of foreign parks. The same genius knew how to treat the wide expanses of Prospect Park in Brooklyn. During the Civil War, he was one of the founders of the Union League Club and an active manager of the working details of the Sanitary Commission. The war over, he and his coadjutor, Calvert Vaux, laid out Central Park, barely snatched from the march of the city's growth, an achievement that made 1866 an epoch in New York's history. They also laid out the parks of cities all over the land, besides Mount Royal Park in Montreal. He was chairman of the Yosemite Park Commission, he was one of the landscape architects of the Chicago Exposition, and to his advice public and private grounds all over the country owe much of their beauty.

His pen was not idle; and his early books on the South, "The Cotton Kingdom," "The Seaboard States" and had much influence on opinion at the beginning of the war. When he died, the country joined with Hartford in mourning a valued son; and it was aptly said that his best monument was the Central Park.

CHAPTER XVI

Connecticut's Honored Sons Abroad

FROM the State have gone forth some men who have become illustrious through their work in other states. Such was that grand old divine, Dr. Nathaniel Emmons, one of a species almost extinct now. The quiet little village of Haddam was the birthplace not only of Emmons, but of David and John Brainerd, of Dr. Griffin, of the jurist Jeremiah Gates Percival, of David Dudley Field's two great sons, Stephen and David Dudley, besides other men who have left their impress on the busy world. Dr. Emmons distinguished himself at Yale, and took lasting impressions from his teacher in theology, Dr. Smalley of New Britain, himself a pupil of Dr. Bellamy. He early removed to Franklin, Massachusetts, where he was the pastor for fifty-four years. Thus his life, with the exception of his college years, was paseed in two small villages, with no especial associations with public affairs; and yet through his writings he became a power in the religious world and the founder of a new school of Calvinism, his fame extending even to other lands. Between eighty and one hundred young men studied theology with him, sometimes being called Emmonites; and of them forty-six have been counted among truly eminent men. His three-cornered hat, to which he clung throughout his life, was an outward symbol of his tenacity of opinion. He had the courage to espouse an unpopular cause or to attack a popular one according to his conviction of right; as when in a Fast-Day sermon, he made the famous reference to President Jefferson as Jeroboam. Yet he numbered among his friends the great divines of the day, to whom his wit, keen analysis, and definite opinions must have made him an exhilarating companion. His sermons, often printed and widely disseminated then, fill nearly seven volumes; and he aroused great interest by his skill in

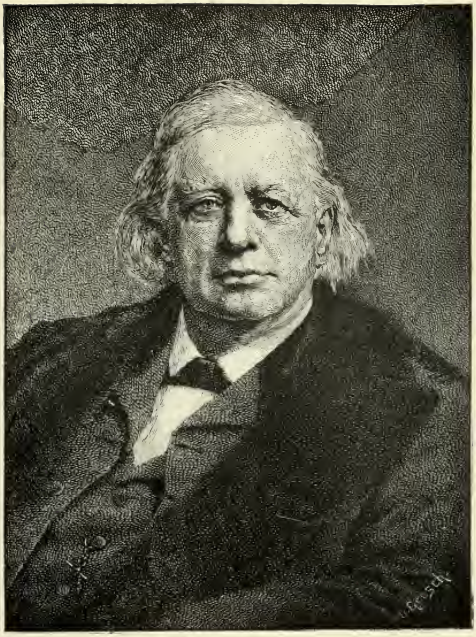
reconciling views held by many to be irreconcilable. In his habits of life, too, he harmonized things ordinarily incompatible: for sixty-five years he studied from ten to fourteen hours a day, took no exercise, and was always well, living to the middle of his ninety-sixth year.

A contemporary of Emmons was Alexander V. Griswold, born in Simsbury, who became the first Episcopal bishop of the Eastern Diocese, which included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, besides Connecticut. His labors were various; besides bearing the responsibility of his diocese, and the charge of three parishes in Litchfield County, he eked out his scanty salary by teaching and farming. In course of time, he became the third presiding bishop of the United States.

Samuel Nott, one of the early graduates of Union College, and a native of Franklin, Connecticut, was one of the first pioneer missionaries sent out to India by the American Board of Foreign Missions.

We all know how America was honored by the fearless eloquence of Henry Ward Beecher in his five great addresses in England in 1863. When he unflinchingly stood the storm of hostile audiences, and with all his powers of wit and earnestness and oratory held under perfect control, turned the course of public opinion in Great Britain against the slave-power, he effected a "result unparalled in modern oratory."

Other men have not lacked courage to assert their convictions of right; such as Henry B. Stanton, who, fifty years a journalist, able and upright, knew not how to bend his course for friend or foe; and, as champion of the anti-slavery cause, had to face many an angry mob. In the quiet village of Torrington, stands the house which was the birthplace, and for



Henry Ward Beecher

five years the home, of John Brown, who rests at North Elba after his stormy life, and whose name will not soon perish.

Far back in the colonial days, in 1759, was born in New Haven Jared Mansfield, the fourth son of Captain Stephen Mansfield. He was one of the class which Yale graduated in the war-troubled year of 1777, he showed his ability in teaching as rector of the Hopkins Grammar School in his native town, and as head of the Friends' School in Philadelphia. His taste for mathematics led him to publish a volume of his essays, which not only were the first original mathematical researches published in America, but attracted the attention of that great man, Abraham Baldwin, who was naturally interested in the production of a man of his own State and college, and showed the book to Jefferson. He was so favorably impressed that he appointed Mansfield a captain of engineers in the United States Army, from which he was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel. After a term at West Point as professor of Natural Philosophy, he was proposed by Baldwin as Surveyor-General of the United States, an office which involved surveying Ohio and that vast region then known as the "Northwest Territory," now resolved into numerous flourishing States. These exacting duties he performed faithfully and accurately, and his name is perpetuated in the town of Mansfield in Ohio.

Another Connecticut man, Francis Granger, from Suffield, went to the State of New York, was called by Jefferson to his service as Postmaster General, and filled the same office under Madison and the first Harrison, resigning when Tyler became President. A party was named for him, the "silver-grays," in allusion to the color of his hair.

In lonely grandeur on the top of the North Carolina mountain whose name commemorates his fatal zeal for scien-

tific exploration, sleeps a son of Litchfield County, Elisha Mitchell. What a trio of bright men was that which went from New Haven to the University of North Carolina in the early nineteenth century,—Denison Olmsted, Ethan Allen Andrews, Elisha Mitchell! Mitchell was a native of the village of Washington ,and was descended through his mother, from John Eliot. He was a classmate of Olmsted at Yale, and together they accepted professorships at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Mitchell, as professor first of mathematics and then of natural science, remained there for thirty-nine years; and his labors redounded greatly to the renown of the University. He was an ardent naturalist, and his own valuable researches among the fauna and flora, the soils, and rocks, and river-courses and mountains of North Carolina, were published in *Silliman's Journal of Science* and other periodicals, and gave him a great reputation. His instruction, based so largely on personal experience, was most illuminating. His especial fame rests on his exploration of Black Mountain, which now rightly bears his name. Five times did he toil through the wilderness to establish by scientific means the fact that it was the highest point of the Appalachians. On the fifth and last exploration, in 1857, he became lost, and perished in the storm and darkness of the night. His body was found in the pool at the foot of the precipice down which he had slipped; and now it rests, near the balsam tree which he had climbed for a point of observation, on the summit of the mountain which is his monument.

Asaph Hall, who discovered the moons of Mars in 1877, and was long the astronomer in charge of the United States Naval Observatory, was also of Litchfield County birth.

Thomas Sterry Hunt, the famous chemist and geologist, had a curious connection with the financial history of the coun-

try, in perfecting the green ink which has given name and permanence to our "greenbacks." He was born in Norwich, and was one of the elder Silliman's youthful assistants, although most of his working life was spent in Canada, Boston, and New York. Prominent in organizing Laval University, he was the professor of chemistry there and at McGill University; and afterwards he took the chair of geology at the School of Technology in Boston. Many of Professor Hunt's geological designations have been permanently accepted. His knowledge of chemistry inspired him to important speculations; he was regarded as the ablest American exponent of the "Substitution" theory; and by his numerous writings, which were translated into foreign languages, and his very acceptable lectures, he became one of the best known authorities of his day in chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, winning the honors of a scholar at home and abroad.

Jedidiah Morse, in his noted "Geography," remarks that in his day the people of Connecticut were frequent in their appeals to law. Whether this were the cause or effect of an abundance of lawyers, it is certain that both bench and bar have had notable representatives from the State. There was Jeremiah Mason, another distinguished son of Lebanon and Yale, who became the Attorney-General of New Hampshire, her senator at Washington; and, still greater honor, was the foeman worthy of the steel of Daniel Webster. The legal combats of these intellectual giants increased their mutual admiration, and Webster was undoubtedly often spurred on to his great performances by those trials of strength with his friend and opponent. One of the Notts of Saybrook, Abraham, the grandson of Abraham Nott of Wethersfield, after his graduation from Yale in 1781, turned his steps southward

and became one of the leading lawyers of South Carolina, and an able judge there.

A little later, from Bozrah went out Reuben Hyde Walworth, for twenty years the chancellor of New York, whom Story called "the greatest equity judge of his time," and who accomplished a needed simplification of the equity laws. John Pierpont, of Litchfield birth and Litchfield Law-School training, was the Chief Justice of Vermont; and of the North Haven branch of the same family, although with a variation in the spelling of the name, was our able diplomat, Edwards Pierrepont. He was one of the class of 1837 at Yale, which included Evarts and Waite; was a graduate of the Yale Law School in 1840, and continued his life in New Haven by a tutorship. His talents as a jurist and his loyalty to the Union brought him to Lincoln's assistance in many crises during the Civil War. He was among those sent to Washington to confer with the Government after the attack on the troops in Baltimore; in 1862 he was appointed by the President, with General Dix, to try political offenders, and he appeared for the Government in the prosecution of John N. Surratt after Mr. Lincoln had fallen by the assassin's bullet. He was Attorney-General during Grant's administration, declined the mission to Russia, and accepted the similar appointments to St. James and the Quirinal, where he discharged his diplomatic duties with distinction and ability.

Amasa Parker went from Sharon to Union College and thence to Albany, where he attained great eminence as a lawyer, particularly in disposing in a short time of the numerous trials involved in the anti-rent troubles,—two hundred and forty persons being tried in three weeks.

Although he spent most of his life in his native State, of which he was one of the honored governors, Roger Sherman

Baldwin, a native of New Haven, ranked among the great lawyers of his day. He advocated the right of Prudence Crandall to teach whom and where she pleased; and in 1839-40, his able and unwearied defence of the Amistad Captives against the demands of Spain, gave him a national reputation as a leader at the bar and a master of legal learning. While in the U. S. Senate, he made a memorable speech in defence of his State against the aspersions of Mason of Virginia.

Lyme has indeed been a home of governors and judges; as is illustrated in the "Family Circle" of Mrs. Ursula Wolcott Griswold, who was the daughter of Major-General Governor Wolcott, the sister of the first Governor Oliver Wolcott, the aunt of the second Governor Oliver Wolcott, the wife of Governor and Chief-Justice Matthew Griswold, and the mother of Matthew Griswold and Governor Roger Griswold, the latter a man of high distinction, both sons being judges; besides numbering in that circle ten more governors of this and other States, including the late much honored Governor Roger Wolcott of Massachusetts; and forty-three distinguished judges.

Among these judges, Lyme has furnished three chief justices of the Supreme Court of the State, Henry M. Waite, Matthew Griswold, Jr., Roger Griswold, the last two, sons of Mrs. Griswold; Charles Johnson McCurdy, Judge of the same court, her great-grandson; and Morrison Remick Waite, Chief Justice of the United States.

Judge McCurdy conferred a lasting benefit on the English-speaking world by the memorable change which he effected in 1848 in the common law, whereby persons interested in the event of lawsuits were allowed to testify, a right never before granted. This fundamental improvement in the administration of justice was greatly approved by David

Dudley Field, who the next year, placed it in his code; and it was generally adopted throughout the Union, and became a part of the English law. Judge McCurdy's eminence as a lawyer and patriotism as a citizen kept him in public office for many years; and in 1851 he was sent to Austria as our *chargé d'affaires*. It was a troubled time, and the American welcome of Kossuth had caused irritation in Vienna; but Mr. McCurdy's course was so wise and tactful as to win great praise; and his rescue of the Rev. Charles L. Brace from unjust arrest as a spy was as successful as it was discreet. Judge McCurdy was a member of the Peace Commission in 1861, and was of great service to the Yale Law School at a time when it was languishing. He was in the class of 1817 at Yale, of which he was for some time the oldest living graduate, retaining remarkable vigor till his death in his ninety-fourth year. Of very fine personal appearance, and noble character, witty, charitable, and courteous, he was indeed a fine specimen of the "gentleman of the old school."

The career of Judge Morrison R. Waite, the son of Judge Henry M. Waite, took him to Toledo, Ohio, and thence to Washington; but he always bestowed much time and affection on his native town. He early became eminent in Ohio, and was active in reforming the Constitution of that State. His most memorable service was as one of the United States Arbitrators at the Geneva Tribunal in 1871, with Evarts and Caleb Cushing.

It was remarkable that the wheel of Fortune should bring together on so momentous an occasion two members of Yale's famous class of '37, Evarts and Waite. Judge Waite's clear logic and his comprehension of international law made him a worthy member of the great trio, and won the approval

M. R. Waite

of the country and the Government. When President Grant appointed him Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, his choice was amply justified. Through the fourteen years of his terms as Chief Justice, he settled many questions of the greatest importance to "human rights of life, liberty, and property;" and in the unhappy years following the Reconstruction period, the South learned to value aright his impartial justice. He had the judicial fairness, the power of holding himself in perfect balance, unswerved by personal or political considerations, combined with the veneration for the high position which he held that we associate with the ideal judge; and of him it was truly said that "he took the Supreme Court out of politics." A difference in the quality of mind and standard of action between him and his great associate, Stephen Field, may be detected in Waite's firm refusal to even consider the suggestions of his name as a candidate for the Presidency. To him, his duty was clear to keep the Supreme Court "the sheet anchor of the nation;" and he felt that the Chief Justice, having reached the highest office in the land, should "have no political ambition." While the last rites were performed for him in Toledo, the church-bell tolled in Lyme, and the mourning people gathered for a memorial service in honor of the beloved and most distinguished son of the town.

The wonderful combination and diversity of ability in the Field family have been the theme of many pens. Three of those great men were of Connecticut birth,—the father, David Dudley Field, whose strength of character descended to his ten children, was born in North Guilford; of his sons, David Dudley Field and Stephen Johnson Field were born in Haddam. From the State whose leadership in free government has been a favorite theme for students of constitutional

history, came these lawyers who were to do a phenomenal work in the orderly presentation and enforcement of law.

David Dudley Field, Jr., was born in 1805, was graduated from Williams in 1825, and up to his death in 1894 was actively using his great powers. His life was devoted to the reform of law, for which a distinguished chancellor of England, the late Lord Cairns, said that he did "more than any man living." During his early practice in Albany and New York, he found that he had to deal with a mass of laws, accumulated through many years, bulky, contradictory, confusing; he left it clear, connected, and concise. This work involved not only legal knowledge and acumen of the highest order, but patience and persistent devotion to the self-imposed task. His mind turned to the necessity for this as early as 1837; in 1845 he began writing articles on it, and tried in vain to get a seat in the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York. In fact, all through his great work he met opposition; but with each rebuff he rose to greater exertions than before. His "Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure" were published in 1850. He then went on to prepare a code, political, civil, and penal, which should cover the whole province of American law. The civil code of New York he rewrote eighteen times. It was self-sacrificing labor which occupied eighteen years, for the last sixteen of which he received no compensation whatever, and on it he expended himself at least $6,000 in assistance. These codes form five volumes; the "Civil, Penal and Political Codes" give the substantive law, and the "Codes of Civil and Criminal Proceedings" prescribe the practice of the courts. The civil and criminal codes have been adopted generally throughout the Union, and Field's work was likewise admired and copied in the English colonies. When he traveled around the world he

From the Painting by R. G. Hardie.

Yours Truly, Rothschild

found his "System of Practice" in use in courts in India, Singapore, and Hong Kong. In 1866, he proposed to an English association to appoint a committee of jurists from different countries to prepare an international code. Of this commission he was the first president, and he prepared unaided the desired code, which was translated into French, Italian, and Chinese. With all these labors, he carried on an extensive private practice, and was actively interested in the welfare of the country. He opposed the annexation of Texas, gave the force of his eloquence to the great mass meeting on Union Square at the outbreak of the Civil War, was most helpful in subduing the Irish riots in New York, was a member of the Electoral Commission, and throughout all his life showed not only his knowledge but his lofty ideal of the lawyer's duty. In the words of his epitaph,—

> "He devoted his life to the reform of law,
> To codify the common law,
> To simplify legal proceedings,
> To substitute arbitration for wars,
> To bring justice within the reach of all men."

The adventures and kaleidoscopic changes in the career of Judge Stephen J. Field make fiction tame in the comparison. It was a rare experience for a country boy of thirteen to be taken to the Orient with such company as his sister and her husband, the distinguished missionary, Josiah Brewer, the father of the present Mr. Justice Brewer, to have the opportunity of studying Oriental languages and countries on the spot, to live through fearful visitations of the plague and convulsions in governments. He justified the hopes of his elder brother, David Dudley, when he returned to America, by fin-

ishing his course at Williams at the head of his class. Destiny had more romantic chapters to unroll for him. After successful law-practice in New York, and another tour in Europe, the gold-fever took him to California, which he reached in 1851, after hairbreadth escapes on the journey by Panama, to find himself at the close of his first day in San Francisco with one dollar in his pocket. Newspapers which he happened to have brought from New York selling readily at a dollar apiece, relieved his pressing needs; and going to the new town now called Marysville, which then had one thousand inhabitants and one house, he was elected, on the third day after his arrival, the chief magistrate, or alcalde. The authority thus placed in his hands, and which was almost autocratic, was exercised with great discretion and firmness in that turbulent time, and he escaped the fury of a drunken Texas judge, who threatened to drive him out. With the family love of system, he applied himself to making laws for the new community, taking for a basis the new codes of the State of New York, just made by his brother. He did more than any other individual toward framing the laws of California. In the course of years, he altered three hundred sections, and made one hundred new ones in the Civil and Criminal Practice Acts of California; and these codes were adopted, in the main, by the other Pacific States. He was sensible enough to fit his laws to the peculiar situation, and to give the sanction of law to the regulations which the miners had made for themselves; hence they could not complain of injustice.

One characteristic incident may be related from his reminiscences. He says that while traveling one day, he found a wayside "Lynch" jury engaged in trying a man for stealing gold dust. The penalty would be death, the conviction

under Lynch law was almost sure. A careful although hasty conversation with the prisoner assured him that he was innocent. Accordingly he invited the jury to take a recess from their duties in order to partake of such refreshments as a temporary "alehouse" afforded. There he selected one man whose face promised a benevolent disposition, found that he was from Connecticut, and by a few well-directed words brought the tears to his eyes at the thought of the dear old home, and gained his sympathy and promise of help for the poor accused man whose friends might wait in vain for news of him; and then he was ready to make his appeal for trusting the fair routine of the established court rather than the haphazard parody of justice in which they were engaged. They listened, they yielded, they consented to send their captive to the nearest court and judge; and the man was saved, to the life-long gratification of Field. Like his brother, David Dudley, he devoted his energies first to establishing, the laws, and not till after that to making his own fortune. In 1858 he was made judge of the Supreme Court of California, and he was soon regarded as the first judicial authority on the Pacific coast, doing much to protect land titles. In 1863, when a new judicial district was created on the Pacific Coast, and a tenth judge was added to the Supreme Court of the United States, there was but one voice, one party, one State in the Pacific delegation, which went to President Lincoln to present Stephen J. Field for the high office.

His commission was dated March 10, but with loyalty to his clients in California whose cases he wished to conclude, and affection for his dear old father in Connecticut, he preferred to mark the birthday of the latter, May 20, by taking the oath of office. In the exercise of his new duties, his signal ability became a matter of national renown. His sense of

justice was unshaken in the midst of such cases as the Milligan Case, where he voted for the preference of the civil authority over military tribunals in civil cases; and in the Test Oath, the Queue, the Legal Tender cases, and on the Electoral Commission, each arousing warm discussion all over the country, his opinion was given with regard to his conviction of duty rather than to popularity. He was never afraid to face the consequences of his sincerity, although he narrowly escaped the assassin twice; and his influence was ever on the side of personal liberty and national honesty. He died in 1899.

Of such sons Connecticut may well be proud.

E. S. B.

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